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Southern

VOLUME XX THIRD QUARTER 2000

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A collection of antique Civil War-era military items is displayed against a dark background. The items include two long-barreled rifles with wooden stocks, a sword with a scabbard, a light-colored leather vest, a dark leather belt with a large buckle, and various military insignia such as buttons, belt buckles, and a pouch. The items are arranged in a collage-like fashion, overlapping each other.

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Southern PARTISAN

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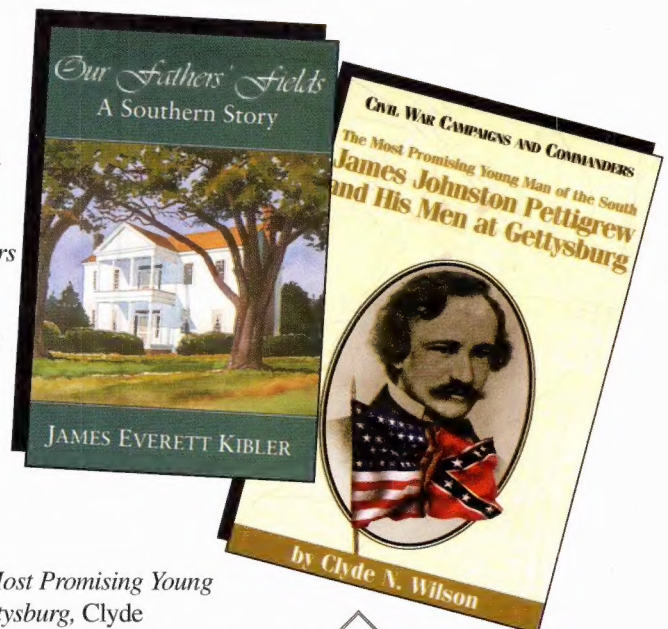
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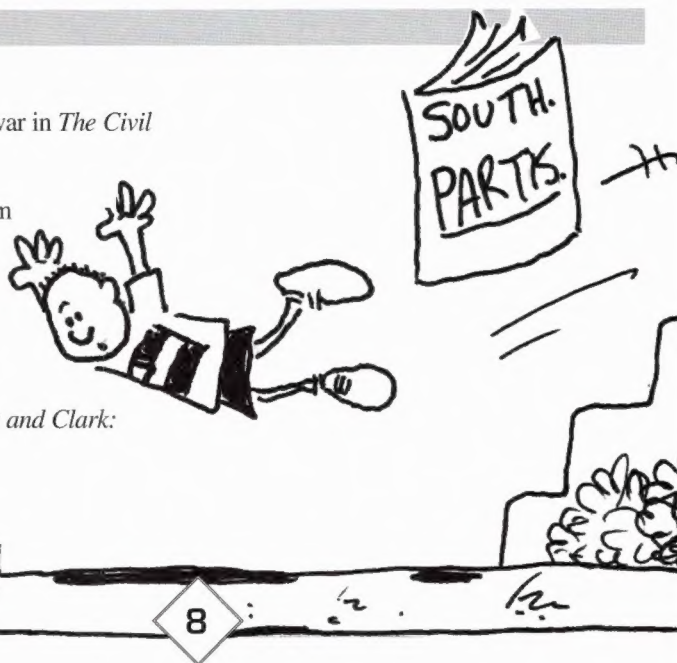
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Southern PARTISAN

"If there were a Southern magazine, intelligently conducted and aimed specifically, under the doctrine of provincialism, at renewing a certain sort of sectional consciousness and drawing separate groups of Southern thought together, something might be done to save the South..."

—Donald Davidson to Allen Tate
May 1927

"No periodical can well succeed in the South, which does not include the political constituent...The mind of the South is active chiefly in the direction of politics...The only reading people in the South are those to whom politics is the bread of life."

—William Gilmore Simms
Southern Quarterly Review, April 1853

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EDITOR'S LETTER

Dear Reader,

I have some good news and some bad news. The bad news you already know. Due to a convergence of troubles this issue is late. First, a devastating computer virus required us to overhaul and entirely replace some of our equipment. Regrettably, computers have become an expensive necessity in the publishing business. Don't worry, however, you're going to get all the issues you paid for even if they come just a bit late.

As if that were not enough, you may have noticed *Southern Partisan* has been in the news quite a bit of late. As we go to press most of the attacks have died down as the media pack turns to other victims. During the past several months, every major news outlet in the country (and quite a few minor ones) have made some mention of *Southern Partisan*, usually unfavorably.

As a result, our staff has spent a tremendous amount of time trying to respond to these attacks and trying to set the record straight. Regrettably, most news organizations have had little interest in the truth and have opted instead to simply presume that the charges made against us are true. Among the more egregious examples was a remark by Delaware Senator Joe Biden that *Southern Partisan* (actually he initially referred to it as the *Southern Progressive*) is a white supremacist magazine, quickly adding the disclaimer, "so I've been told."

It seems strange, but *Southern Partisan* has become the most discussed periodical in America (and around the world). The lazy reporting and sometimes shameful misrepresentations by professional journalists are amazing. The *New York Times* even referred to us as "sick," "creepy," and "racist."

It bears noting that having the right kind of enemies can be a good thing. The sunny-side of all this hoopla is that an amazing number of Americans have heard us criticized by the likes of Ted Kennedy and Joe Biden for our stand on Southern history and have called to get more information. While it is always painful to be falsely maligned, it remains our lot to stand against the bluster of our enemies and keep telling the truth.

It has been a tough few months for our magazine, but I can assure you we have weathered the storm and are stronger than ever. Our subscriptions are growing at a steady pace. We have been attacked, slandered, or dismissed by an untold number of newspapers, television news programs, Clinton administration officials, and now even members of the United States Senate. We must be doing something right.

About our writers

Our outdoors writer, Jim McCafferty, has written a children's book about the Roosevelt bear hunt entitled *Holt and the Teddy Bear*. Autographed copies are available for \$12.95, plus \$2.00 postage and handling from Jim McCafferty, Box 5092, Jackson, Mississippi 39296.

For several issues now we have been reproducing some vignettes collected by Ralph Green in a column called "Sidelights & Lightersides." With this issue Ralph takes over writing "The Smoke Never Clears" column. Harry Crocker will be taking on a new column starting with the next issue.

You may also notice some changes to the Living Southern section. We are in the process of making some format and content changes so be on the lookout there as well.

Also in this issue, we start a three part series on the national government. We begin with the presidency, although we will take a break with the next issue to bring you a complete exposition of the Ashcroft controversy.

Our web site is now up and running as www.SouthernPartisan.org. At the moment, the site is under development and there is not much there for anyone who is already a subscriber. For the time being we are using it as a marketing tool, but we have plans to expand it later on. Let us know what you think.

Christopher M. Sullivan

★ MORE BURROUGHS

Gentlemen:

Cheers to you for printing Bryant Burroughs' excellent article "Yankee Logic." I grew up in southern government schools. I was never taught logic. "Yankee Logic" explains the ad hominem argument and its cousins ad ignorantiam, ad populum, and the bad analogy in terms that I understand. Now that I understand them, I realize just how many times they have been employed in political debates that I either engaged in or listened to. I have even had them used on me, but no more.

Gentlemen, to be forewarned is to be forearmed. I want to see Mr. Burroughs write some more articles explaining how I and others who love truth can counter these types of logical errors.

Thanks again for printing this excellent article.

Bill Grimes
Lawrenceville, Georgia

Glad you liked it. You might be interested to know that the entire Yankee interpretation of the war is based on a logical fallacy. Specifically, Yankees argue that slavery ended after the war therefore the war must have been fought to end slavery. This rests on the fallacy of post hoc ergo propter hoc which confuses sequence with cause.

—Ed.

★ PASTORAL CARE

Gentlemen:

A little over a year ago, my pastor gave me a gift subscription to *Southern Partisan*.

I was raised to believe that Abraham Lincoln was a saint and martyr and that his Army of the Potomac was the savior of our country and culture. Beginning about ten years ago, however, I had come to question these beliefs through a study of R.L. Dabney, Alexander Stephens, and a host of other sources of "unrevised" history of the nineteenth century.

Born and raised in Georgia, my pastor realized that I was ready for and would profit by an introduction to your magazine. I can't tell you how inspiring and encouraging it is to hear from others who realize that the culture of the South

is the truly American culture and needs to be preserved and cultivated. Your magazine is a source of strength and inspiration to many of us.

I recently received your subscription renewal letter, and I would like to take you up on your offer and perhaps go you one better. I'd like to make a contribution to your efforts. I hope you can use it to continue your fine work and accept it as an encouragement from someone who desires to raise his children in the country that Generals Lee, Jackson, Stuart, and their brave men fought so nobly to defend.

Deo Vindice.

Michael Peroutka
Pasadena, Maryland

You're welcome. And our great thanks goes out to all of you who have supported us through thick and thin these many years.

—Ed.

★ A VOICE IN THE WILDERNESS

Gentlemen:

From the last newsletter, *UPDATE*, from the Society of St. John a Roman Catholic organization trying to bring Christ back to the everyday life of man. "Our culture, or the way in which we live our lives, does affect the way we believe. As St. Paul says, we are brought to the invisible (spiritual) world through the visible (material) world. Nor can our culture be a neutral one, disassociated from religion. It will either lead us to God, or it will lead us to false gods."

T. S. Elliot once said that no culture has appeared or developed except together with a religion and that either "the culture will appear to be the product of religion, or the religion the product of the culture."

Keep up the good work.

Craig Kincaid
Via Email

★ ESTATE PLANNING

Gentlemen:

"The Fourth Estate" by P. J. Byrnes in the latest edition was a gem! Mr. Byrnes perfectly exposes the hypocritically elitist attitudes of what is an overwhelmingly arrogant press. However, I disagree with

one point he made.

I don't think the press has ever been, or could ever be, an honest broker of the facts about political and social issues. It's impossible for humans not to have slanted perspectives even when witnessing occurrences. What was different in former times was what we would today call "truth in labeling." When newspapers were open about their political biases, you knew that if you read the news and opinions in a particular paper, you were getting a partisan Democrat or Republican or sectional perspective. (Today, this would mean virtually all newspapers and television outlets would have to admit openly their leftist orientations. How refreshing to hear the announcer say, "This is CBS News, the voice of the Democratic National Committee.")

This isn't to say that papers purposely report lies (though they can and do). But, even if a reporter were present as an event unfolded, he would necessarily see and hear things differently from another reporter. Moreover, if he weren't present and had to rely on data gathered from eye witnesses, he's then only able

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to report their slanted views through the prism of his own slanted perceptions. We're now twice removed from what actually happened.

The core of today's problem is that the news media believe themselves to be clear-eyed observers reporting what's going on in the world from a nonpartisan perch. Perpetuating the myth to a gullible public that the media can be and is "objective" (coincident with a Supreme Being's view of events) is what makes them so sanctimonious and dangerous.

Chris Davis
Lawrenceville, Georgia

★ BETTER READ THAN DEAD

Gentlemen:

Your review of the movie "East-West" exhibits a rare example of telling the truth about Soviet Communism. Almost never do film makers or reviewers tell of the horrors behind the old iron curtain, preferring to vilify the Nazis for the millionth or so time. Now if we could just see a movie about Soviet infiltration, influence and control of our government from the early 1920s to the break-up of the evil empire in 1989 and the remnants of collectivist control up to the present.

You folks do a great job. Keep it up.

Harry Cavandugh
Ocala, Florida

★ SWEET SIXTEENS

Gentlemen:

In *Southern Partisan's* second quarter 2000 issue, this question is asked: "Did Slavery Cause the War Between the States?" I am not sure that the pro and con discussions of the matter really settled the question.

Anyway, in my opinion, the chief cause of the War was war criminal Abraham Lincoln, and the chief cause of secession was the South's rapidly waning influence nationwide. The South was home to nine of the first twelve Presidents, but the increasingly industrialized North with a fast growing population, due in large measure to immigration, was, in the view of many Southrons, turning their homeland into a kind of lowly province of Yankeedom.

There were two (2) sixteenth American Presidents, the deified Abraham

Lincoln and Jefferson Davis, and I am happy to be able to say that the latter was my people's 16th President.

Eugene Malcolm
Athens, Georgia

★ TRUTH SQUAD

Gentlemen:

Southern Partisan has done a great service by publishing the opposing views on the Confederate Battle Flag ("Unlocking the Truth" 2nd Quarter 2000). Amazingly, it has taken a partisan publication to present an open and unbiased approach. Something the so-called journalists would not. This piece and the "Trivium" column make a great combination.

Whenever truth and error are positioned side by side even the least thoughtful among us can tell the difference.

Macon Merriwether
Dallas, Texas

★ BETTER SAID THAN READ

Gentlemen:

I no longer read your publication but caught your Scalawag Award from the Second Quarter 2000 issue regarding Maurice Bessinger. You know, it's the saddest thing in the world to see you patronize a patriot with real guts and real vision like Mr. Bessinger. I think you know there's nothing more "eccentric" (your word for him) than calling a magazine like *Southern Partisan* and hedging your bet every time a chance for real partisanship comes up.

May I suggest you either start fighting this war in earnest on the same side as your ancestors, or get a piece together dealing with "Burt McConnell," "Burt Ravenel," "Burt Wilkins," etc. It's obvious Wal-Mart is no worse a scalawag than such poseurs.

Randolph N. Waller
Anderson, South Carolina

Just our luck. A critic who no longer reads the magazine but continues to write letters, like Clinton still seeking presidential attention. Do us a favor, Mr. Waller, either read the magazine or leave us alone.

—Ed. ☺

BOOKS OF THE SOUTH

"Truth is Error's Best Antagonist"

REBEL BOAST by Manly Wellman. *The true story of the five North Carolina kinsmen soldiering in the War.* 240 pp.PB \$16.95

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THE HISTORY OF A BRIGADE OF SOUTH CAROLINIANS, KNOWN FIRST AS "GRIGG'S" AND SUBSEQUENTLY AS "MCGOWAN'S BRIGADE" by J.F.J. Caldwell. Photos, maps. 326 pp.\$35.00

CHAPLAIN TO THE CONFEDERACY: BASIL MANLY AND BAPTIST LIFE IN THE OLD SOUTH by A. James Fuller. 343 pp.\$49.95

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THE GREAT REVIVAL IN THE SOUTHERN ARMIES by W.W. Bennett (The author is a Confederate Chaplain). 427 pp.CLOTH \$20.00

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Shame: *requiescat in pace*

BY CHRISTOPHER M. SULLIVAN

Brethren, be followers together of me, and mark them which walk so as ye have us for an ensample. (For many walk, of whom I have told you often, and now tell you even weeping, that they are the enemies of the cross of Christ: whose end is destruction, whose god is their belly, and whose glory is in their shame, who mind earthly things.)

PHILIPPIANS 3: 17 - 19

The great legacy of the Clinton era is that it is no longer necessary to be ashamed. Contribute no doubt, certainly apologetic. But never ashamed.

The last eight years have in fact proved to be the heyday of the apology. Mr. Clinton apologized to just about everyone everywhere for everything. Following his lead, numerous other countries and organizations (from the Pope to the Southern Baptists) apologized for things done long before they were born, to people long since dead and gone.

While an apology for a wrong done is certainly appropriate—in the proper place and time—Bill Clinton used it as a cloak for shame: there is a difference.

Shame is the emotional response to becoming conscious of one's own guilt. It is a feeling or expression of moral failure and is often accompanied by the physical reaction of blushing, which is an involuntary expression. To feel shame one must have an

active conscience which can call one's own self to account for misbehavior or turpitude.

If Bill Clinton feels shame only he can say for certain. It is nonetheless clear that he has taught the nation this lesson, denial will always beat repentance in the short run.

This lesson is now seeping through all levels of the nation. Two good examples have come up recently, and from not too far away. The first is from Mount Pleasant, South Carolina, where a group of high-school children were having a beer party. When neighbors became disturbed by the commotion they called the law.

When the police got there they discovered a party of teenagers engaged in underage drinking. They also discovered a pair of ignorant parents who had sequestered themselves in an upstairs bedroom, content to allow the kids to have a good time. The police arrested the adults for contributing to the delinquency of minors.

The shocking part is that many of the parents involved, argued that the adults should not be held criminally liable just because the teenagers got a little over the line. No shame, not even any remorse. In fact, many of the parents involved were angry that the police enforced the law in this case.

Another example comes from a rural South Carolina high school where six football players were suspended and threatened with criminal prosecution because the team's trainer had performed an immoral act on them on the school's activities bus.

The trainer was a female under the age

of consent according to state law, while the accused players were legally adults, thus the threat of prosecution. The situation nearly became a racial incident because it seems that practically every member of the team had availed themselves of this girl's services but only these six white males were disciplined.

The result was not that these young men, their families, and friends, were embarrassed and ashamed. No, they donned yellow ribbons and turned out in force to present hundreds of petition signatures and demand that the school board reinstate the students at their old school without any penalty. No shame, no pain.

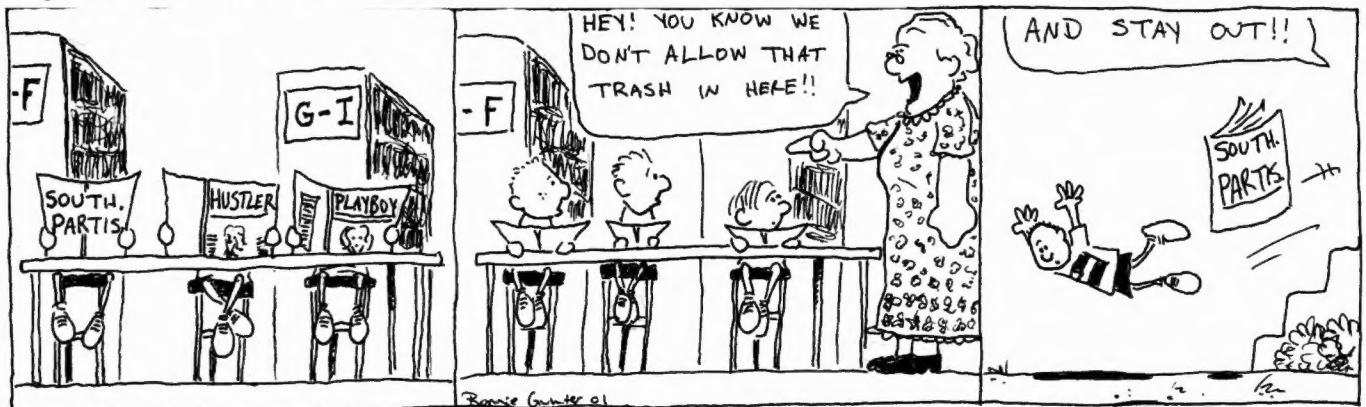
Pain, it should be noted, is the apt metaphor, for shame ought to be a painful emotion. Just as pain advises the brain to remove one's hand from a hot stove, so shame should counsel conscience to mend one's ways. When shame no longer reports to headquarters, one may well assume that conscience is no longer there to hear it.

So what is the answer? Well, for starters we need to acknowledge that some things are shameful and that our actions are sometimes shameful. The purpose of shame is to inspire one not to repeat an act which violates one's conscience.

Of course, for that to work one needs a conscience. And not just any old conscience will do. A well developed conscience requires regular maintenance and a steady diet of morally sound wisdom.

There is, of course, another way to deal with the problem of shame. Be bold and indifferent to the nagging voice of conscience. If you ignore it long enough it will finally go away. ☼

Signs of the Times



Banner-Herald — RIP

Publisher Jeff Wilson has announced that the Athens *Banner-Herald*, one of the last afternoon newspapers still in existence, will cease publication on April 30th. The *Banner-Herald* began publishing 168 years ago and still boasted almost 10,000 readers, but economics dictated its demise. "It is basically the same paper as the morning paper," Wilson said. "It just came to the point that we can't afford to do this any more."

Afternoon newspapers remind us of a more leisurely past, when Dad used to come home from work a little earlier, sit in a rocker on the front porch, sip lemonade, and read the newspaper until supper time.

Today Dad gets home after 6:30, ten or fifteen minutes before Mom, fixes himself a drink, turns on the TV, and catches the last half of *Dan Rather*. Mom arrives at seven; and they both sail out the front door, on their way to Chili's.

In such a world, there's no longer a place for an afternoon newspaper.

Au Revoir: Maybe

A federal judge recently sentenced former Louisiana governor Edwin Edwards to 10 years in prison for shaking down gamblers who applied for riverboat casino licenses. Edwards is 73, and his lawyer argued that this was "effectively a death sentence" and promptly appealed.

As we reported years ago, Edwards once said, "They'll never get me unless they catch me in bed with a live boy or a dead girl."

They "got" him by putting a wiretap on his home telephone and hiding a microphone in his office. The result: Edwards, his son, and three cronies were all convicted and sentenced to prison. The son got 7 years.

We hate to see Edwards leave the public arena. In the old days, we never had any trouble finding a Louisiana entry for "CSA Today." Edwards had always said or done something outrageous or hilarious.

Of course, Edwards hasn't gone to prison yet. He will soon be back in court, attempting to win his freedom while his appeal is slowly working its way up through the clogged and inefficient judicial system.

Sometimes appeals take years.

Sometimes a fellow grows old and dies before the courts finally dispose of his case.

In the meantime, if the court doesn't order him to jail immediately, we can count on Edwin Edwards to have big fun on the bayou.

Civil War Comrades

Another Civil War controversy has broken out. To ease the tensions, legislative leaders have ordered a plaque removed commemorating the bravery of some militant rebels. Opponents of the plaque said the men were rebels who violated U.S. laws and attempted to subvert public policy. Supporters argued that the rebels deserved to be honored for their courage and commitment regardless of how their ideology may be viewed today.

There's a difference though: it's not the "American Civil War" but the Spanish, and the legislators aren't trying to balance historical reverence with New South economic policies, nor are they trying to placate the NAACP. Rather, it's all happening in Concord, New Hampshire.

The plaque in question prominently features a clenched fist and is intended to honor the dozen men from the Granite State who fought against the fascist Spanish General Francisco Franco in the 1930s. Likening their cause to that of the Union Army, they called themselves the Abraham

Lincoln Brigade. But the brigade and the Spanish cause were closely aligned with communism and the Soviet Union, which rankles some in New Hampshire.

About two-thirds of brigade members joined the Communist Party. Some were lifelong communists. Others joined because it was the easiest way to get into the fight, said Peter Carroll, author of *The Odyssey of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade* and chairman of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade Archives in New York. After World War II, the brigade was branded a subversive group and investigated by the FBI in the 1950s.

An editorial in *The Union Leader* attacked the plaque the morning it was to be unveiled saying, "Now that the Soviet Union no longer exists and the United States is not on the brink of nuclear war, too many Americans dismiss communism as just another political system in a morally relative world."

Video Vandals

In Selma, Alabama a group of protesters demanded that a statue of famed Confederate Cavalry General Nathan Bedford Forrest be removed. When the City Council did not move fast enough for them, they took matters into their own hands and dumped a load of garbage on the statue.

Two men standing nearby videotaped the whole event including images of



Clarence Williams, president of the Selma chapter of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

Williams defended his presence, "I was out there, but I don't know anything about any trash. I've said it before, if I wanted to do anything to the monument I'd get a cable, hook it up to my truck and pull the (thing) down."

That's just what happened a few days later. During a march in honor of Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, protesters tied a rope to the statue and tried to pull it over. The rope broke and Gen. Forrest remained unmoved, as did the police who have declined to bring any charges despite both events being photographed and the second having been widely reported in the local press.

During his confirmation process, Attorney General John Ashcroft was repeatedly asked if he was willing to enforce laws with which he disagreed. Apparently, we need to ask the city fathers of Selma that question as well.

Second Battle of Hickory Creek

The Reverend James Piper, spokesman for the local NAACP in DeRidder, Louisiana told a group of about twenty people that they all must

work together to oppose racism, hatred, and anything that "brings disharmony" and that "disrupts social and civil peace."

In particular, the good reverend and his supporters object to a fictional reenactment called the Battle of Hickory Creek; loosely based on the massive overland invasion of western Louisiana in the fall of 1863 by Union troops. "I have checked, and the NAACP is against reenactments nationwide," Rev. Piper told the *Lake Charles American Press*.

Tommie Willis, a NAACP chapter officer, said she's appalled that schoolchildren from around the area will be bused in for the event sponsored by a local Sons of Confederate Veterans Camp. Local chapter president, the Rev. Fred Ross, said that the reenactment will not help the black population or community.

Rev. Piper specified that the Confederate Battle Flag is a racist symbol and many who honor it are also racists and he objects to its use in the reenactment. Others present also objected to the reenactment being held during February, which is Black History Month.

Presumably the NAACP does not object to the various church burnings and home invasions committed by Yankee troops as they passed through the Cajun nation.

"O wad power the Giffie gie us..."

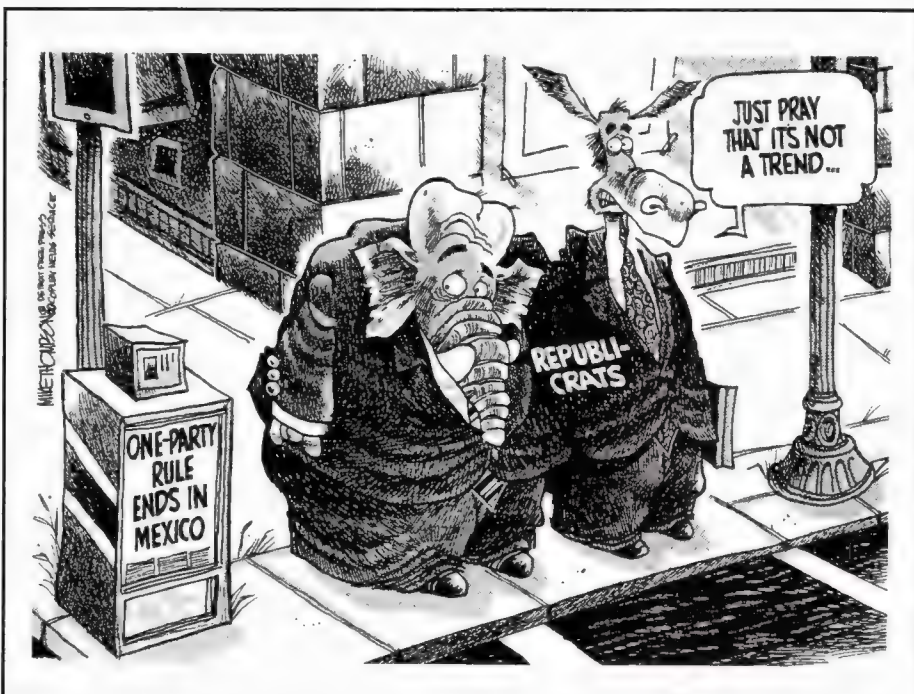
Clinton strategist and Gore advisor Paul Begala left no doubt where liberal Democrats stand regarding Southern conservatives. In a vitriolic attack on Republicans, Mr. Begala presented his argument for why Vice President Gore lost the South.

Yes... tens of millions of good people in Middle America voted Republican. But if you look closely at that [electoral] map [showing counties that voted Republican in red] you see a more complex picture. You see the state [Texas] where James Byrd was lynch-dragged behind a pickup truck until his body came apart—it's red. You see the state [Wyoming] where Matthew Shepard was crucified on a split-rail fence for the crime of being gay—it's red. You see the state [Oklahoma] where right-wing extremists blew up a federal office building and murdered scores of federal employees—it's red. The state [North Carolina] where an army private who was thought to be gay was bludgeoned to death with a baseball bat, and the state where neo-Nazi skin-heads murdered two African Americans because of their skin color, and the state [South Carolina] where Bob Jones University spews its anti-Catholic bigotry: they're all red too.

No Need to Get Snippy

Bill Clinton's hand-picked man to lead the Democratic National Committee, Terry McAuliffe, got off to an inauspicious start. While campaigning for the chairmanship, he addressed a group of blacks as "colored people" instead of the correct variant "people of color."

His first official address included an announcement of whom he considered the enemy. Mr. McAuliffe said, "And you know this: if Katherine Harris, Jeb Bush, Jim Baker and the [U.S.] Supreme Court hadn't tampered with the results, Al Gore would be President, George Bush would be back in Austin, and John Ashcroft would be home reading *Southern Partisan* magazine."



Pushy Protesters

During the inaugural parade, a group of anti-Bush protesters took over several sections of bleachers reserved for ticket holders, according to the *Washington Times*. U.S. Park Police were told to back off because organizers feared the crowd could get out of hand.

The stands, which had a clear view of the parade and the Ronald Reagan International Trade Center, were soon filled with a crowd of protesters too large for the group of officers to handle on its own. The rowdy crowd made it impossible for ticket-holders to take their seats and several people already in the stands were run off by the demonstrators.

"They kept coming, so [organizers] told us to move," Crissi Bailey, 17, said. "We

didn't expect this. This is really crazy."

Crissi, a senior at John F. Kennedy High School in Silver Spring, Md., and a member of Girl Scout Troop 1135, was one of hundreds of Boy Scout and Girl Scout volunteers on hand to help ticket holders find their seats.

It is an outrage, indeed, when something like this can happen in our nation's capital. The thought of an extremist organization like the Boy Scouts being allowed to participate in an American ceremony just shows how much this country has changed.

Scouting for Trouble

Another story the national media neglected to cover happened at the Democratic National Convention in Los Angeles. A group of Eagle Scouts had been invited to take part in the opening ceremony. When

they took the stage, a large group of delegates began to boo and jeer. It turns out 212 of the delegates were openly homosexual. To them, the Boy Scouts were not welcome. So much for tolerance.

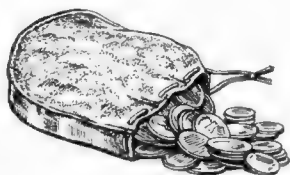
Ashcroft's Ashes

Only once since 1959 has the Senate refused to confirm a president's cabinet appointment: John Tower of Texas.

Judge Robert Bork and South Carolina's Judge Clement Haynesworth add proof that the Senate Democrats will not tolerate any dissent from their political orthodoxy.

Is it any wonder Republicans have such a tenuous grasp on power? Think where Bush, Lott and Hastert would be with just a little bit of the nerve the Democrats can muster. ☛

Scalawag Award



point, Barnes conspired behind closed doors with a host of black activists, aging jocks, academic ideologues, pig-eyed business leaders, and political bag-men to redesign the flag, lest ordinary Georgians learn

next day. Apparently, at 7:30 on Wednesday morning, the House leadership gets the word. At 8 a.m., the lobbyists are hauled into the governor's office and told how much this means to the governor. So the business leaders and lobbyists find out about the flag before the people's elected representatives.

Georgia's Flag: Out of Sight, Out of Mind

As we predicted, the Georgia state flag has been quickly and efficiently emasculated by Governor Roy Barnes, acting in concert with a comfortable majority of legislators. The Confederate emblem has been reduced to postage-stamp size and placed among five other flags to diminish even further its visual impact. Henceforth, a near-sighted Yankee will see no more than an oblong blur of color where once the blue Cross of St. Andrew, spangled with 13 white stars, asserted itself against a blood-red background.

The NAACP, the editorial staff of the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, and the state's Chamber of Commerce were dancing cheek to cheek as the new flag went up, its overly busy design reflecting the intellectual and moral confusion of the New South.

Governor Roy Barnes was Scalawag-in-Chief of this sly operation, which began over a year ago when the nation's Moral Conscience, Jesse Jackson, threatened to lead a flag protest during the Super Bowl. At that

of the plot and speak against it.

The entire campaign was based on racial politics—an attempt to stir up black indignation and probe white guilt. Of course, all of this had to be done in secret, because too many Georgians were tired of the racist clichés of black activists and the timorous parroting by politically correct whites. They knew the flag wasn't racist. They wanted to keep the one they had. So Barnes had to resort to the latest strategy of his breed: Polarize by calling for reconciliation.

State Senator Eric Johnson described Barnes's stealth attack during debate:

For a whole year, a secret, back-room negotiation has been going on....They select a flag. Then, just 24 hours before letting the state know, there is a...meeting with...a few business leaders, the Speaker, and the Lieutenant Governor at the Governor's Mansion. They are presented with a flag and told that the vote will be the

Pointing out that most Georgians opposed the flag change, State school superintendent Linda Schrenko said, "When a majority of people in a state don't want something to happen, it ought not to happen. We believe in Democracy."

Roy Barnes obviously doesn't. He is no longer responsible to the people who elected him. His sensibilities are made of finer clay than those of his fellow Georgians. Thus he can tell the Georgia House in calling for the furling of the old flag: "If there is anything we have learned from our history, it is that using racial bigotry for political advantage always backfires. Sometimes in the short run, sometimes in the long. Often both."

Of course, that's empty rhetoric. The nation's political history is filled with people who prospered through the use of racial bigotry and never got their comeuppance. Not the least of these is Governor Roy Barnes of Georgia, the recipient of this issue's Scalawag Award. ☛

WAR BETWEEN THE STATES TRIVIA

"In the introduction to *A Treasury of Civil War Tales*, I wrote, 'This volume does not begin to exhaust the rich lode of Civil War material available.' The same is true of the present volume. Hopefully, though, *Civil War Trivia* will prove to be an enjoyable challenge to every student of this most unusual of wars, the ramifications of which continue to our own time."

—Webb Garrison in the introduction to *Civil War Trivia*

PLUMES AND BATTERIES

1. Dudley M. DuBose of Georgia, a veteran of Gettysburg, the Wilderness, Petersburg, and Saylor's Creek, was captured and then held in what prison?
2. What C.S.A. brigadier flunked out of West Point, was wounded in battle four times, and spent three years in Cuban exile?
3. What former Indian fighter when pursued by Federal forces in September 1862, lost only his trademark, a plumed hat?
4. What twenty-eight-year-old major improved artillery tactics so that his "flying battery" appeared to be double in size?
5. What West Pointer, class of 1838, took over Stonewall Jackson's division after Jackson's death at Chancellorsville?
6. Who was captured first at Williamsburg, Virginia, in May 1862, a second time at Gettysburg in July 1863, and was arrested a third time by Federal troops the night of Lincoln's assassination, although the war was then over?
7. Possibly suffering psychological disorders, what lieutenant general frequently reported himself ill during times of crisis, thus avoiding responsibility?
8. What friend and former comrade in arms of U.S. Grant was forced to accept his terms of unconditional surrender at Fort Donelson?
9. Who was Robert E. Lee's military secretary?
10. What fellow townsman whom Stonewall Jackson appointed to his staff and assigned to command the Stonewall Brigade was killed at Chancellorsville in May 1863?

ANSWERS

- | | | | |
|--|---|---|--|
| 1. Fort Warren, Massachusetts. | 5. Maj. Gen. Edward Johnson (b. Virginia). | 7. Ambrose Powell Hill (b. Virginia). | 10. Brig. Gen. Elisha Franklin Paxton (b. Virginia). |
| 2. Birken Davenport Fry (b. Virginia). | 6. Brig. Gen. William Henry Fitzhugh Payne (b. Virginia). | 8. Maj. Gen. Simon Bolivar Buckner (b. Kentucky). | 9. Col. Armistead Lindsay Long (b. Virginia). |
| 3. Maj. Gen. James Ewell Brown ("Jeb") Stuart. | 4. Maj. John Pelham (b. Alabama). | | |

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SOUTHERN SAMPLER

BY WILLIAM FREEHOFF

PLAYING THE GAME

For when the one great scorer comes to mark against your name, he writes—not that you won or lost—but how you played the game.

Grantland Rice

ON A DISUNITED STATES

The United States did not undergo Civil War in 1861—a collection of states did.

Prof. James I. Robertson

ON IMMORTAL MAN

I believe that man will not only endure. He will prevail. He is immortal, not because he alone among creatures has an inexhaustible voice, but because he has a soul, a spirit capable of compassion and sacrifice and endurance.

William Faulkner

ON ROBERT E. LEE

His noble presence and gentle kindly manner were sustained by religious faith and an exalted character.

Sir Winston S. Churchill

ON NATHAN BEDFORD FORREST

His mind was not narrowed by military apothegms learnt by rote, and his actions were unhampered by military regulations of any sort.

General Viscount Wolseley

CSA TODAY



ALABAMA

Off the coast of southern Alabama, the Gulf is alive with huge jellyfish that are eating the local jellyfish for lunch every day.

The invaders are pink and have tentacles that grow to 60-70 feet, so people are calling them "Big Pinkies." Apparently, there are tens of thousands of Big Pinkies in the Gulf, and they are beginning to wash up on Alabama shores.

Their chief diet is the native "moon jellyfish," which they slurp up with spaghetti-sized tentacles that are both stingers and digestive tracts.

By the way, one of the chief advantages of being a Big Pinkie is that you can eat and breed at the same time. After spawning, they produce thousands of tiny worms that swim around until they can attach themselves to a hard surface like a shell. There they turn into little polyps that eventually disgorge up to 15 new Pinkies.

Thus far, these intruders have been content to dine on moon jellyfish, of which there are millions in the Gulf of Mexico. But after the moon jellies give out, you never know where they'll turn next. Look for the new movie "The Revenge of the Big Pinkies," coming soon to a theater near you.

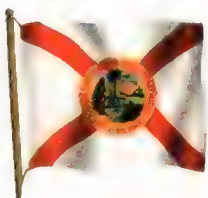


ARKANSAS

The Save Scott and Old River Association has finally won its 18-month battle with The Manure Gang, officially known as The Wilcox Land and Cattle Company.

The Manure Gang had hoped to import sewage sludge and dump it onto 800 acres of land in the small town of Scott, near Old River Lake. George Wilcox, boss of The Manure Gang, asked the Department of Environmental Quality for a permit to fertilize his property with the noxious waste. Marlene Lantrip found out about it, formed the Save Scott and Old River Association, and Wilcox eventually withdrew his sludge permit application.

However, Wilcox may well exact sweet revenge from the SSORA. His attorney says he now plans to build mobile homes on the plot.



FLORIDA

Sandhill cranes are now learning a safer migration route from Wisconsin to Florida, one that

won't expose them to as many diseases as they might have encountered along the old route.

These six-month-old birds are not being led along the new route by an older, wiser sandhill crane who knows the ways of the world. They are following a man in an ultralight airplane—a man dressed up like a crane, broadcasting crane croaks as he flies along.

This spectacle is sponsored by Operation Migration, an organization dedicated to getting birds where they need to go. If this ploy works, OM intends to play the same trick on whooping cranes, of which there are now more than 400, including 77 that winter in Central Florida.

So if you look up in the air and see a long-necked gray bird flying a small airplane and croaking, don't sign yourself into a sanitarium.



GEORGIA

The scientists are at it again, messing with nature in an effort to solve the unsolvable.

In this case, it's red fire ants, which came swarming over the countryside in the 1930s and are now building too many homes on Georgia farms—20-40 mounds per acre—just like Yankees. In fact, fire ants cost Georgians an estimated \$100 million a year in damages.

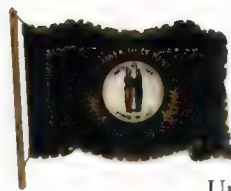
But agricultural science—wearing a blue suit and red cape—has come to the rescue faster than a speeding bullet. According to University of Georgia entomologists, the final solution to the fire-ant problem is a tiny insect called the phorid fly.

Phorid flies are parasites imported from Brazil. When they locate a fire ant, they swoop down on him, poke a hole in his body, and drop an egg inside. In two or three days, the egg hatches into a larva that makes its way into the ant's head and begins chomping away. Soon enough, the ant's head falls off with the larva still inside, gobbling its dessert.

UGA entomologists have released 4,000 phorid flies into fields near Tifton, where (one presumes) the fly-children are already gobbling up ant heads. The flies cost \$3 apiece, but jubilant scientists hope the insects will multiply until they decapitate every fire ant in Christendom.

After that, maybe scientists can train phorid flies to eat kudzu, which somebody also imported to solve an unsolvable problem.





KENTUCKY

Twenty-two-year-old Melissa Smith is a groom who handles Saddlebred horses on Undulata Farm in Shelby County. Moving among these large horses is difficult and dangerous enough for a man. For a woman it's even more so.

In a *Herald-Leader* interview with Smith's employer, Hoppy Bennett, he told reporter Jack Brammer, that when she applied for the job she "pitched it to me that hiring her wouldn't be the worst thing I've ever done."

Bennett agreed to hire her, but he later admitted he was reluctant to do so.

"I couldn't say no to her. I was hoping she wouldn't show up. But one day in early June I see her walking out here with her mother and father and her dog and it really hit me...."

Now she is his star groom.

He says hiring her "is one of the best things I've ever done in my life. She's wonderful. Her work ethic's super. She has a special way with horses, a special touch. She also breaks young colts.

"She's great with horses," he said, "but man, oh, man, she does a horrible job sweeping and washing windows around here."

Small wonder.

Melissa has been blind since the age of seven.

In fact, she may be the only blind groom on the planet. Brammer quotes Lynn Weatherman, editor of *The American Saddlebred Magazine*, as saying, "I've never heard of a blind groom. It would be an awfully tough job with a lot of potential dangers."

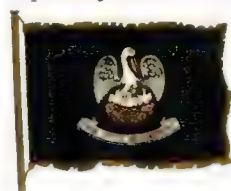
Bernard Hettel, executive director of the Kentucky Racing Commission, agrees: "Imagine the difficulties moving around a large animal and you couldn't see."

Melissa Smith isn't afraid.

"I've done it all my life," she told Brammer. "I've had some bruises, but everybody who gets around horses gets bruises."

She has a seeing-eye dog, but she doesn't allow him around the horses. A friend drives her to work, which starts at 7 a.m. and ends at 4:30 p.m.—Monday through Saturday.

"I grew up on a small horse farm in Missouri," she said. "I can recall what some things look like, especially horses. They are beautiful in my mind."



LOUISIANA

For many years, the City of Monroe was known for the historic flag display in front of its city hall. The flags flown there included the Louisiana flag, the First National Confederate flag, the City of Monroe flag,

the French flag, the British flag, and the American flag—i.e., all the flags that had ever flown in sovereignty over the city.

In 1999, when the NAACP was holding a convention in Monroe, then-mayor Abe Pierce III took it upon himself to order the Confederate flag removed from the display. (Pierce is black.)

Flag supporters tried to communicate with the mayor, but he would neither return their calls nor answer their certified letter. They went to the media and got a little coverage, but Mayor Pierce was unmoved. They appeared before the city council and got more coverage. Still no action.

So they waited until the upcoming election was over and a new mayor was installed. The new mayor Melvin Rambin agreed to meet with them. Rambin declared his love for the South and his admiration for Robert E. Lee, but said he wouldn't restore the flag to its proper place because it would be like "shouting offensive language" at the black community.

Then, according to two of the flag supporters, he told them he wasn't afraid of them: "I'll whip both of your butts right here in the office, today, physically."

So there the matter stands. If you want to e-mail the mayor, his address is: mayor@ci.monroe.la.us—but be reasonable and polite, otherwise you might get your butt whipped.



MARYLAND

The Hagerstown Town and Country Almanack has bad news for the people of Maryland. This winter is going to be a lot colder than usual.

So how do the Almanack folks know that? By studying the bands on 632 woolly bear caterpillars.

As we all know—or should know—there are three black bands on this particular caterpillar. The front and back bands represent the first half and the second half of winter. According to Gerald Spessard, business manager of the Almanack, "The front band and the back band were similar in length and longer than normal. That means a more severe winter."

Given the choice between the global-warming crowd and the woolly caterpillar, we'll take the latter, which is why we've already ordered extra longjohns from the Sears catalogue.



MISSISSIPPI

You can see it coming: The high-decibel debate; the skewed reporting of the carpetbagger press; the beads of sweat on the brows of white politicians; the rationalizations; the surrender; a day or two of peace, followed by the renewed attack on history by black activists. Bet on it: Mississippi will soon fly a redesigned flag.

So how did we get here from there? First, the current flag was adopted as a state symbol in 1894. However, the 1906 revision of the statute book dropped out that particular section, giving the current State Supreme Court enough wiggle room to rule in May of 2000 that Mississippi didn't really have an official flag or state seal.

That's when Gov. Ronnie Musgrove created a 17-member "advisory commission" to recommend a course of action—which is what governors and presidents always do with a hot potato. As of this writing, the commission, headed by "moderate" former-governor William Winter, is traveling around the state, getting input from citizens.

And you can bet Winter doesn't like the input he's getting. Flag supporters have greatly outnumbered flag detractors, and they aren't shy about voicing their opinions. Emily Wagster of the Jackson *Clarion-Ledger* has reported these meetings with all the objectivity of the *Daily Worker*. It's the raucous rednecks vs. the benign blacks, hatred vs. sweet reason, the ugly troll vs. Little Goody Two-Shoes.

We all know how melodramas end. The hero arrives just in time. The villain is thwarted. The maid is rescued from the railroad track. If recent history is any indicator, the 17-man commission, carefully chosen to pre-determine the outcome, will recommend that a new flag be designed and approved by the legislature, which—after some debate—will do the politically correct thing.

Mind you, we're not saying that this outcome is inevitable. The fight to save the Mississippi flag is still a winnable war—but right now the odds favor the other side.



MISSOURI

You may remember the story: The Ku Klux Klan applied for a stretch of Interstate 55 in the Adopt-a-Highway program;

and when the Missouri Department of Transportation turned down the application, the Klan hauled the State into federal court. Earlier this year, the 8th District U.S. Court of Appeals ruled that it would be discriminatory to bar the Klan from participation, despite its "repellent philosophy."

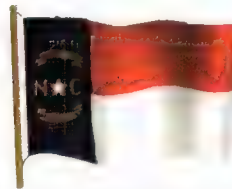
In response, the Missouri legislature renamed the highway after Rosa Parks, the woman whose refusal to move to the back of the bus started the civil rights movement. A shrewd move.

Needless to say, there is much harrumphing and posturing on both sides.

Missouri Secretary of Transportation Rodney Slater has said that the renaming of the highway "reminds us that the struggle for equality and the fight between good and evil is not a final destination but a road we must travel."

Thomas Robb, national director of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, called the renaming "a slap in the face to the white people of this country."

As the result of all this ascending gas, the ozone hole over Missouri has grown to alarming proportions.



NORTH CAROLINA

The Cape Hatteras Lighthouse is one of the minor wonders of the modern world, and as many as 3,400 people a day climb the 268 steps to the top. It's great exercise, and the view is spectacular.

At the moment, the climb is free, but that might change.

The National Parks Service is proposing a charge to climbers—\$4 for adults, \$2 to children under 12. And for \$10 and \$5 respectively, you could get a season pass. Old folks and the blind get to go up for half price—if they really want to.

The Parks Service says it can impose fees without consulting anyone in the universe. "But," says spokesman Robert E. Woody, "because of the sensitivity of the Cape Hatteras Lighthouse we wanted to give everybody a chance to voice their thoughts on the fees and help shape a good fee program."

And what will they do with the fees? Among other things, they plan to build a fee booth.



OKLAHOMA

Over 99,000 people signed a petition to put a measure on the ballot that would outlaw cockfighting in Oklahoma,

one of only three states that permit the sport. (The other two are New Mexico and Louisiana.)

The Oklahoma Coalition Against Cockfighting was hoping to get the measure on the ballot this fall, but the Oklahoma Game Fowl Breeders Association challenged the validity of the petition in court, offering evidence that forgeries had occurred.

As we go to press, the two groups, their spurs sharpened, have already drawn blood and are circling each other for the kill. Before the year is out, one will be a pile of feathers in the middle of the pit, while the other is cock-a-doodle-dooing.



SOUTH CAROLINA

Until recently, Bill VanDerHoff worked as a mechanic for the John Deere plant in Pontiac. As a mechanic, he was required to supply his own tools, which he carried around in a box. On the box, he had pasted a small Confederate flag decal.



While he was elsewhere, someone tried to scrape the decal off his toolbox. He slapped on a new decal and complained to the Personnel Director. A couple of weeks later, he was called into the Plant Manager's office and given the word: Either remove the Confederate flag or be fired. The Plant Manager and the Personnel Director assured him that this decision had nothing to do with his work record, which was excellent. But either he or the flag would have to go.

He protested that his freedom of speech was being violated, but he was fired anyway. At least that's how he tells it. The Plant Manager and Personnel Director now say he quit. He's been denied unemployment compensation and is in the process of suing John Deere.

More recently, another employee says he was fired for whistling Dixie.

When pig-eyed politicians and greedy businessmen prostrate themselves before Yankee corporations in order to persuade them to move South, they not only invite new jobs, but also bad manners, cultural arrogance, and a fine contempt for our people and history. At some point, Southerners will relearn a truth they once knew—that there are some things more important than money.

Towards that end, over 200 small businesses have signed up for the new Southern Small Business Association.

Participating businesses receive, among other things, a "Buy Southern" sticker for their window. The association hopes to expand to other Southern states soon.

Contact: SSBA, 1920 Joyce Street, Cayce, SC 29033.



TENNESSEE

The Nashville *Tennessean* reported the story as if it were as momentous as the Johnstown flood.

A group of homosexuals staged a forum to protest their treatment on campus. It seems that the Vanderbilt Lambda Association had sponsored a float in a recent homecoming parade; when their entry, adorned with a drag queen, sailed by the Sigma Chi House, some of the brothers allegedly pelted the float with rocks, candy, and mud.

At the forum, held two weeks later, Carl Manalo, a spokesman for Lambda,

said. "I do not want this happening to anyone else, because it's the worst thing that ever happened to me."

Now there's a lucky fellow. Most people have worse things happen to them before they finish elementary school, (and without asking for it). Manalo should read Quentin Crisp's fascinating book on manners, in which the famous British homosexual apologizes to society for flaunting his homosexuality as a youth, saying he was self-centered and thoughtless of the sensibilities of others.

As for the frat boys who allegedly threw things at the float, they, too, should mind their manners. There is no excuse for such conduct. The least they can do by way of compensation is to make Lambda's drag queen the Sweetheart of Sigma Chi.



TEXAS

Watch for the TV miniseries during one of the sweeps next year. Another

Texan has done it—hired a thug to commit murder. This story isn't as good as *Blood and Money* or the cheerleader's mama, but it fulfills all the requirements of the genre.

U.S. District Judge Edward C. Prado has sentenced Texas millionaire Allen Blackthorne to two life terms, a \$250,000 fine, and \$17,000 in restitution for hiring a killer to murder his ex-wife, Sheila Bellush. She had remarried, moved to Florida, and given birth to quadruplets. After a bitter custody dispute over the two daughters Blackthorne had fathered, he offered Jose Luis Del Toro, Jr. \$54,000 to travel to Sarasota and kill Mrs. Bellush. Blackthorne offered Del Toro a bonus if Blackthorne regained custody of the daughters.

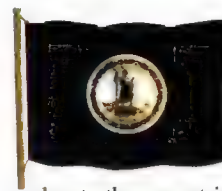
Mrs. Bellush was found in her home—shot, throat slit. Two of the quadruplets were crawling in their mother's blood. Del Toro confessed to the crime and received two consecutive life sentences.

Oddly, neither federal nor Texas law prescribes the death penalty for participants in a hired killing, though this type of homicide is perhaps the most cold-blooded of all.

The family's frustration was best expressed by Blackthorne's 15-year-old daughter, as she confronted her father during the sentence hearing: "For the past three years, I've been wanting to say something to

my dad that would hurt him as much as he hurt me....All the hate [I have] is directed against him...He took my mom away from me...[I want him] to spend the rest of his life in jail and die there. [Then], "I can go out and celebrate."

If you want to understand why the death penalty is a good thing, you have only to read this daughter's statement.



VIRGINIA

Ain't multiculturalism wonderful! You can learn so many interesting things about other countries after you quit learning about your own.

The *Winchester Star*, all wide-eyed and gee-whizzy, ran a story about the "Day of the Dead" celebrated by the Spanish students at Lord Fairfax Community College—which, according to the *Star*, Professor Christy Grier described as "strictly a Mexican holiday celebrating the lives of people who have died."

The festival begins on October 31 and lasts for three days, during which Mexicans light candles and all sorts of other peachy-keen things. According to the *Star*, "Grier said Mexicans look at death differently than people in the United States. Death is viewed as a part of life rather than a morbid, black-caped Grim Reaper [sic] waiting for everyone at the end of life."

Apparently, it never occurred to Professor Grier to take a look at Halloween (All Saints Eve), the next day, (All Saint's Day), and the day that follows (All Soul's Day), during which American Catholics of all stripes remember the lives of those who have died and often light candles in their memory.

In fact, during the celebration of All Saints Eve, American children run around dressed like ghosts and other spirits and collect candy from the folks in the neighborhood. Then, they celebrate All Saints Day by eating so much that they wish they were dead.

Of course there are differences. And it doesn't hurt to see what kids in other nations do on Halloween. But let's not use these little multicultural exercises to denigrate American culture, particularly when we don't know what's happening in our own backyard. ☼



Next?

The Power of the Presidency

BY JOHN C. PENDEGRASS

The celebration of the American presidency is well underway, honeymoon and all. Americans did not rush to the polls this election cycle, causing yet another wave of pundits and academics to worry about the “collapse of democracy” or absence of public service.

Neo-conservatives claim public apathy is based on general contentment with a prosperous society. Left liberals call for easier voter access and the need to instill a sense of public service in the schools. Both sides fail to understand the deep-seated disillusionment afflicting the country, or at least they refuse to publicly admit it. Americans are disgusted with an unresponsive political system that only attracts sexual deviants and the sons of the ruling class. Unless one is the victim of a telephone poll, the choice of President makes no difference. Statistically speaking, a voter is more likely to be killed driving to the voting station than his vote making a difference.

All around us the political system is

being undermined. Home schoolers and the internet are accomplishing what Jefferson Davis and his generals could never do with cannon and musket. The most obvious challenge to Washington control is the millions of Americans who turn off their televisions during convention time, or refuse to buy into the national celebration of voting. More and more each election cycle, duty to one's country means going fishing the first Tuesday in November.

Another reason Americans refuse to vote is the limited amount of choice offered by the presidential candidates. The typical Democrat response to problems is more gov-

ernment oversight and intervention. The average Republican, rather than seeking real solutions, simply calls for government oversight, but let private business run the program. One would think the rise of third party candidates would offer refreshing relief from the drudgery of the big parties. But American voters are wise enough to tell when a candidate provides a serious alternative, or when he is addicted to the rush of campaigning.

The real question to ask this election day is why Americans, who seem to be so disillusioned with the political system, were so quick to defend Bill Clinton during the impeachment process. Americans kept their

opinions silent in November, but in the summer of 1998, everyone hotly debated what happened in the Oval Office. For that matter, in a country where many people do not even know who the President of the United States is and who refuse to vote in his election, why did so many rush to Clinton's defense? Like it or not, most opinion polls conducted during impeachment fairly reflected the majority's support for the presidency. In other words, it was not so much that people agreed with Clinton and his scandal-a-week administration, but they did not wish to see further harm come to the office he occupied. People defended the President, not Clinton.

Another similar question to answer regards the poor performance of Congressional Republicans. Conservative voters would be right to blame them for their inept handling of the procedural side of the impeachment process. But stupidity alone can not explain why the Republicans lost to Clinton.

The answer to both questions rests on the same political phenomena. Americans venerate the presidency as if it were a monarchical institution that commanded their allegiance. At the same time, the ceremonial nature of the presidency hides its most corrupt feature. No longer does the President merely supervise the executive department of government. Instead he serves as a second legislative branch, passing down decrees that circumvent the constitutional powers of Congress.

Historians will one day debate when the post-WW II conservative movement evaporated. Some will say it was during Ronald Reagan's second term. Others might claim the election of 1996. But surely they will agree that Clinton's impeachment signaled the end of American conservatism as we know it. The Republican party, even as it gained control over the federal government last year, has shed its conservative skin. After the most liberal convention in 40 years, one finally sees the true face of the party of Lincoln. In the South, where allegiance to the Republicans comes from shallow roots, conservatives have already decided to vote for other parties. The Confederate flag-waving thousands who elected Jim Hodges in South Carolina may not be happy with their choice, but at least they will not be stabbed in the back by turncoat Republicans.

Perhaps now a new reactionary movement will arise, freed from the disinformation of the Republican elite and its neo-conserva-

tive allies in the press. Should traditionally-minded Americans ever make political inroads in the United States again, they must realize how powerful the presidency has become and call for serious institutional reforms rather than trying to get the right man elected.

The turning point for the American presidency took place in the summer of 1998 when Bill Clinton evaded an inept Republican Congress's attempt to oust him from office. At first glance one might blame the ineffectual House team in charge of impeachment, or the Senate leadership for its lackluster performance. But Bill Clinton survived impeachment for one reason: the vast majority of Americans and the Republican party do not wish to harm the imperial presidency. Americans would rather be ruled by Bill Clinton than denigrate his office. How else can one explain the numerous polls showing over 80% against what Clinton "did" and just over 60% against removing him from office.

Americans love the President. Wherever he goes, an entourage of clerks, Secret Service agents, reporters, marines, and flag waving Americans follows him. For most of the past century, the president's following has been justified by security concerns. But it came with a price. The bill for protecting the president multiplied by billions of dollars during the Cold War. Back then we were told left-wing communists were out to get him. Today, the right-wing gets its fair share of blame and costs continue to rise. In truth, so many people surround the president in order to make him appear important. We even place this politician, in, of all things, a "white" house.

When the Founding Fathers created the office, the Philadelphia Convention had only one person in mind: George Washington. It was Washington's character and virtue, his commitment to an independent American people, and his desire for leaders of similar standing that made many people overlook the enormous powers granted to his office. Of course, the President does serve an important purpose. As commander-in-chief, he defends the country from foreign invasion. As head of the executive department, he deflects public outrage for oppressive laws away from the Congress that passed them. And with his veto, the President can block bills passed by temporary political coalitions that care as little for majority rule as they do the Constitution.

But if there is one federal institution that deserves serious reform more than any other, it must be the presidency. No political office wields so much power, and, consequently, no politician abuses power more than the President. The process has been slow, but the transfer of power from Congress to the President has become a permanent fixture in American federalism. Blurring the lines separating legislative from executive power, the President has become the principal means of forming, passing, and implementing legislation. Not only will he impose his demands on Congress, but when Congress refuses, the president overrides them by issuing an executive order.

The Constitution allows for certain executive decrees. The president can issue pardons, vetoes, or special orders pursuant to specific laws passed by Congress. However the presidency slowly absorbed the power to issue orders, proclamations, and directives without clear constitutional or congressional support.

History of Executive Privilege

Executive orders have a long, complicated history in America that dates back as far as the Articles of Confederation, when Robert Morris ruled with dictatorial powers by issuing special orders to government officials and rewarding his friends with government contracts. At that time the country did not even have a real national executive branch since Morris was merely the Treasurer. It was in reaction to Morris's shenanigans that the Philadelphia Convention ultimately refused to make the President as strong as they could.

But the Founding Fathers were not without their faults. Many hoped the President could be an institution around which nationalists could rally. Federalist defenders of the Constitution discounted Antifederalist's worries about entrusting one man with so much power. The President would be checked by Congress and the courts, and, above all, the Constitution clearly demarcated his powers. For those Antifederalists who remained unconvinced, Federalists assured them that George Washington would set the standard for future presidents. His shadow, its designers assumed, would limit the scope of future executive power.

As soon as the Constitution was ratified, undue executive influence was felt across the country. After Secretary of the Treasury, Alexander Hamilton, pushed through an economic reform package designed to enrich bankers and industrialists, tax protests quickly surfaced across the states. Hamilton planned to buy up government debt at prices much higher than their market value, increase tariff rates on foreign manufactured goods, and levy special taxes on items such as liquor. Most Americans were oblivious to his plans until it came time to sell their crops and pay their taxes.

The most serious resistance occurred in western Pennsylvania in 1794, where farm-

ers accustomed to distilling their corn into whiskey faced an excise tax on alcohol. Once the "Whiskey Rebellion" broke out, Washington, under pressure from Hamilton, called out militias to put down the tax revolt. To do so, he issued an executive order. Luckily, by the time troops arrived on the scene, the tax protestors had got their point across and disbanded. Certainly one would not argue with the President using his authority as commander-in-chief to protect the country from invasion, but forcing people to pay unnecessary and harmful taxes illustrates the awesome power vested in one person.

Washington's attitude illustrates another long-term problem facing American presi-

dents. No matter how dedicated to local self-government new Presidents may be at first, their attitudes always rise above local considerations to promote the national interest. But the question must always be asked, what is the national interest if it is not all local interests combined? One can be certain as soon as Presidential apologists begin justifying abuses of power based on the national interests, something is being done to reward a privileged few at the expense of the many. After all, the Whiskey tax controversy involved Washington the Virginian, who was used by Hamilton the New Yorker to reward his friends in Philadelphia banks at the expense of other Pennsylvanians.

The Perks of the Presidency

Being President of the United States is the most demanding and difficult job. But, the perks of the office can allow the American chief executive to live higher on the hog than any king, cacique, or potentate from any time or land.

The president receives \$400,000 in annual compensation, some \$100,000 "subsistence expenses," plus \$20,000 for official entertainment. He is also entitled to a \$50,000 personal expense fund "for which no accounting shall be made." The president has well over 1,000 political and household staff. Total executive office expenses exceed \$200 million.

The president also receives free medical care (he has a doctor on permanent stand-by) as well as all those other niceties like a White House barber.

If you get elected president you get a house to use as you please for the duration of your term. Not just any house but the oldest house in Washington, a 132-room mansion set on 18 acres of manicured lawns. The facilities include tennis courts, a swimming pool, gymnasium, bowling alley, movie theatre, game room, jogging track, and practice putting green. The annual cost of operating the presidential resi-

dence is in excess of \$9 million.

For weekend getaways, there's Camp David, the presidential retreat. While modest by White House standards, the compound, set on 125 acres of Maryland countryside, includes a swimming pool, as well as trap & skeet shooting, riding stables, bowling alley, golf green, a chapel, and other recreational amenities.

Flying an aircraft over the White House (or Camp David when the president is present) is forbidden by law. Except, of course, for the president's personal aircraft.

The U.S. armed services fund special detachments for the specific purpose of transporting the president and his entourage. For instance, the Air Force Air Mobility Command deploys airpower to support presidential travel as necessary. These include; 26 C-5, 33 C-17, and 4 C-141 cargo jets; one C-130; as well as 10 tankers for refueling.

The president travels aboard a Boeing 747 Jumbo Jet designated Air Force One. These planes—there are four identical models—have over 4,000 square feet of interior floor space. Modified to include self-contained stairs, automatic cargo loader and additional electronic equipment, the aircraft can be com-

pletely self-sufficient at any airport around the world.

The plane's communication system provides worldwide transmission and reception of both normal and secure communications.

The leather seats, wood grain furniture, paneling, sleeping quarters, and other amenities provide a comfortable means of travel of any duration. Every seat on board is of first-class proportions.

Other smaller aircraft are available for trips to smaller airfields. President Clinton regularly used a Gulfstream business jet for vacations at Martha's Vineyard.

In addition to jet aircraft the U.S. Marine Corps maintains a squadron of helicopters to carry the president to and from the airport.

Wherever the president travels he is preceded by the air armada of cargo planes carrying armored limousines, vans, and other support trucks to await his arrival. Along with communication personnel and equipment, advisors and security personnel the number of persons involved often reaches over 2,000.

During the eight year tenure of Bill Clinton the old political maxim of "When in trouble, travel" was put to its full advantage. Mr. Clinton made over 200 overseas trips costing in

excess of \$250 million.

Of course, this does not include domestic travel, nor does it include the expenses borne by local governments when the president visits their community.

Many of the so-called perks of the presidency are driven by security concerns. The Secret Service which is charged with protecting the president and other top officials, has over 4,600 agents, about a third of who are detailed to the president's security team. They have some 1,200 uniformed officers who provide basic security at the White House and other related facilities.

With a budget around \$700 million, the Secret Service is renowned as the best armed security service in the world, but exactly what their arsenal includes is a closely guarded secret.

Being a former president may be the best job in the world. With no more responsibilities, one can enjoy one's autumn years complete with government financed office space, secretarial staff, and a full-time security detail for you and your family. Former President Carter, for instance, has the Secret Service drive him almost daily from his farm in Plains to his office in Atlanta. Ex-presidents are also entitled to an annual pension of about \$150,000.

All in all, it's good work if you can get it. ☺

In 1794 Washington did not knowingly try to assist his financial allies, and he certainly was not the first of great Presidents who shielded their patronage efforts by relying on the mirage of a national interest. He may have been the first to use executive orders, but most of the early Presidents based their decisions on clear constitutional authority, or on direct grants of power from Congress. For example, Congress specifically entrusted Washington to put down any tax resisters should Congress not be in session.

Those who followed Washington in office rarely used executive orders, and even then, they restricted themselves to fulfilling specific Congressional declarations. A few exceptions occurred such as Andrew Jackson's impractical design to put down with force South Carolina's nullification of protective tariffs.

The attitude towards executive orders changed during the War Between the States as did most everything else relating to the federal government. Abraham Lincoln's grab for power coincided with his use of executive "proclamations," which he used to launch the war effort. A bewildered Congress had little choice but to get involved after Lincoln conscripted over 75,000 troops without their approval. Within limited reason, one could justify Lincoln's actions. Secession was no trivial matter, and Congress was not in session. But clearly, signs of corruption surrounded some of his other proclamations, such as rewarding individual's lucrative military contracts without congressional approval. The Emancipation Proclamation was another of Lincoln's executive orders, which even the most left-wing scholars now admit had more to do with boosting his ailing Republican Party than helping enslaved blacks. In the end, Lincoln claimed most of his directives by invoking "war powers." At the time, few in Washington pointed out that he assumed the power before the war broke out.

Besides constitutional directives and war powers, there is a third justification for executive orders. Starting in the twentieth century with Theodore Roosevelt, Presidents claimed that the needs of American society demanded the direct attention of the President. Social problems were now defined as "crises," and only the President's involvement could remedy the situation. Roosevelt issued over 1,000 orders that increased federal control over the economy, spent millions of dollars without congress-

sional approval, and usually benefited his financial allies. But it was all done in the national interests, or so he said.

Three other presidents (Woodrow Wilson, Franklin Roosevelt, and Harry Truman) followed Roosevelt's lead, issuing thousands of executive orders and extending the president's power over virtually every aspect of American society. Each of the three presidents based their rulings on national emergencies or wartime necessity. Wilson imposed strict regulations on public speech as well as on industry to bolster support for World War I. He even created federal agencies without congressional approval. Truman went so far as to confiscate private businesses and nationalized industries in his efforts to help unionized workers. Franklin Roosevelt issued more orders and directives than any other, all seriously invading the constitutional prerogatives of Congress. But like those before and after, Roosevelt claimed that during national emergencies, constitutional restraints must be set aside.

Raising the level of executive importance and power in the twentieth century is commonly referred to as the imperial presidency. The states have done little or nothing to hinder the process, seeing instead a model of how state politics should function. Since World War II state governors have attempted to match the president's control over Congress by exerting more power over state legislatures. Governors, however, have not been nearly as successful at absorbing power as presidents. State governors have limits on their veto power, gubernatorial races do not command public attention like the White House campaigns, and the only television stations to carry state of the state addresses are PBS affiliates subsidized by the legislature.

The federal courts and Congress have done little to stop abuses of executive power and, in many cases, condone it. Having public attention drawn to the president deflects popular reactions that might otherwise be levied against Congress. When the Supreme Court releases improper rulings, the Court's detractors never try to restrict the court's power. Instead they step up their campaigns to get a different president who will appoint judges friendly to their side.

Congress has tried to curtail the use of executive orders three times since the Great Depression. In response to Franklin Roosevelt's decrees setting up major components of the New Deal, Congress complained

about the extensive use of directives, orders, and proclamations. But no steps were taken to restrict their use. After Watergate, Congress created a special committee in the Senate to analyze the widespread use of national emergencies. Congress later passed several restrictions on what could and could not be defined as national emergencies. The laws also declared when national emergencies must be terminated and that executive orders issued during that time would be rescinded. In the late 1990s several proposals floated through Congress to restrict executive orders, but the proposals either carried little weight with the congressional leadership, or their rules could be easily circumvented.

In his final days of office, Bill Clinton and his administration were searching for new rules to pass without Congressional approval. The *Washington Post* reported a slate of proposals considered by the White House but opposed by Congress. From new regulations designed to harm independent truckers and organic farmers to approval of the abortion pill, RU-486, the Clinton administration issued a slate of executive orders and rulings that could impact the country for years to come. For instance, Clinton agreed to assist Iran by blocking restitution for the family of Alisa Michelle Flatow; Clinton promised assistance after a suicide bomber killed her in 1995, but his desire to cool relations with Iran superseded the interest of the Flatows and families of other terrorist victims. In typical leftist fashion, when the Clinton administration could not get majority support, it proceeded to exert its will anyway.

Pomp and Pageantry

Explaining why the explosion in executive orders occurred in the twentieth century exposes the critical flaw in the presidency. Americans love to be ruled. One could even go so far as to say Americans prefer to be ruled than rule themselves. Self-government is not easy, nor is it ever free from conflict. Over the past century leftists capitalized on the complexity of republican governments to call for greater simplicity and unity. In other words, Americans must allow leftists to promote unity, or America's social fabric will be torn by political conflict. Consequently, federal insiders rarely criticize Washington politics except to say it is "gridlocked." Outside the beltway, wiser minds affectionately refer to this state of affairs as "prosperity." But for ordinary Americans, politics seems much

easier if a strong President takes charge. As a result, not only do most Americans allow the President to enforce rules that a duly elected Congress specifically rejected, they welcome the President's show of "courage" and his ability to stand up to special interests.

Americans think of the President much like subjects think of their king. He must be a man of character, trustworthy, and above the selfish demands of politics. The most politically astute Presidents take advantage of the people's faith. They consciously craft their executive image to conform to the standards American society sets for itself. Ronald Reagan personified the preppie 1980s with his regal dress, formal manners, and expensive White House china. As American civilization collapsed in the 1990s, Clinton's sexcapades and trashy demeanor offered mainstream America someone to which they could personally relate.

Like eighteenth century kings, the American President has become the center of American society. The President is figuratively and, thanks to television, literally, the light around which all things revolve. Hardly a day can go by without national and local news agencies covering the President's itinerary. Allow any disturbance to affect the country's routine and dozens of networks broadcast the President's feelings. Should some Hollywood celebrity die a timely death, and all ears tune to the President's solemn remarks.

But is one person really that important? Do we really need to know what George Bush does with his day, or what he thinks about the World Series? When the presidency commenced, its purpose was to protect constitutionally limited government by restraining Congress. But over time it has deteriorated into a spectacle, complete with all the entertaining qualities Hollywood producers can create.

It is this combination of veneration and pageantry that hides the political corruption associated with executive orders. The result is a person who is rarely elected by a majority of the country's citizens, but who enjoys immunity from those wishing to limit his power. Yet, this is exactly what Southern conservatives must now do: challenge the ability of one man to unilaterally rule on things he considers the national interest. Southerners must champion a tradition of democracy where local communities and their representatives are the guardians of their own interests. The first step will be exposing critical

flaws in national institutions, and the most easily corrected is preventing the President from issuing executive orders.

Reform

For those interested in a winnable strategy for limiting the presidency, they should address seven specific reforms.

1. Reduce the White House budget for personnel. Shrinking the number of staff could alleviate having promiscuous interns, but it would also curtail some of the president's courtly following. Even if the staff is not reduced in numbers but replaced by personnel paid by the political parties, advantages can be had. Those members of the White House staff who were employed by the Democratic party promptly caused many of the scandals that damaged Clinton's credibility. They were the ones who could not pass routine drug tests, and they were at the center of the White House travel office scandal. The Republicans would be no different. After all, pollster Dick Morris advised Trent Lott as much as he did Clinton.

2. Require the President to remain in Washington as much as possible. Submersing the president in congressional gridlock prevents him from making excessive local appearances outside of Washington, thereby denying him his "bully pulpit."

3. Require the President to present the State of the Union address in some fashion other than a televised speech before Congress. From Thomas Jefferson to William Taft, the president mailed Congress his speech. Requiring future presidents to do likewise could eliminate one of the few official federal ceremonies. Supporters might cry foul, but why should Bush not follow the same standard as Abraham Lincoln?

4. Eliminate the President's weekly radio address. Certainly the president has every right to speak to his constituents any way he chooses. But the opposition party does not need to call attention to that speech by offering an official rebuttal. How many people really listen to it anyway? Furthermore, charges of liberal bias aside, news services would rather draw attention to political disagreement than to a routine speech.

5. Congress must raise to leadership positions men who command strong public attention. Even when the focus is critical, as in the case of Newt Gingrich, the president is

unable to monopolize every newscast.

6. Cease focusing on the personal character of the president. Not only does it instigate a backlash against self-righteous critics, it rests on the faulty premise that the person is more important than the office. In American politics, it translates into endless moral crusades and political slogans like "family values," which distract people from real reform measures.

7. Finally, trying to undermine the president's constitutional powers, such as his veto, results in political suicide. Conservatives must go after extra-constitutional power such as executive orders, proclamations, directives, and price-tag pardons. Furthermore, they might challenge the president's position as head of his political party. Given that neither major party welcomes conservatives into their ranks, attacking the party system would do us little harm. Undermining respect for the presidency might weaken the major parties long enough to make third parties a viable option. As long as the big parties monopolize the electoral system, no conservative movement can ever expect to hold political power.

As long as the country remains distracted by the ceremonial nature of the Oval Office, no hope exists of regaining long-lost liberties. The same government that mandates how toilets are flushed will continue to intervene in the minutest aspects of American life.

If Southerners and other Americans are to regain their self-government, then they must first understand the holders of political offices are not as dangerous as the offices themselves. The root problem in American politics is not the character of our politicians but the framework of our political system. We must forget about changing the person who lives in the White House and concentrate on institutionally reforming the Oval Office. After years of moral crusades and whining about the character of our elected officials, one would think conservatives are ready for a different course of action. Perhaps a new form of regicide is in order. Instead of playing the game of personal politics, it would be better to eliminate the source of the problems rather than their effects. When the offices are corrupt, rest assured that only corrupt people will seek them.

Dr. Pendegrass is an academic-in-hiding writing from the River Valley of central Arkansas ♣

BY WILLIAM WATKINS

The Old College Try

The electoral college is under attack. Disdain for our system of choosing a chief executive is bipartisan and at an all-time high.

Both Democrat Hillary Clinton and Republican Arlen Specter have declared that the electoral college should be abolished. "We are a very different people than we were 200 years ago," Hillary explained. "I believe strongly that in a democracy, we should respect the will of the people and, that means it's time to do away with the Electoral College and move to the popular election of our president." One person one vote—according to our elites—is the only fair way to conduct business.

The objected-to procedure for electing our chief executive is found in Article Two, Section One of the Constitution:

Each State shall appoint, in such a Manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a Number of Electors, equal to the whole Number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress: but no Senator or Representative, or Person holding an Office of Trust or Profit under the United States, shall be appointed an Elector.

Article Two, Section One as modified by the Twelfth Amendment, continues by requiring the electors to gather "in their respective States, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves." The person receiving a majority of the electoral votes becomes the president. But if no person receives a majority, then the House of Representatives, voting by states, chooses the nation's chief executive

from the top three vote getters.

Of course, before judgment is entered for or against the electoral college, a study of the events leading to its adoption is warranted. Interestingly, an electoral college was not the first choice of the delegates to the constitutional convention. The Virginia Plan, which served as an outline for many of the Constitution's provisions, contemplated that the chief executive would "be chosen by the National Legislature." The New Jersey plan, offered as an alternative to the Virginia plans' many nationalistic provisions, also contemplated that "the United States in Congress be authorized to elect a federal Executive."

This consensus on the mode of choosing an executive soon broke down. Governor Morris of Pennsylvania feared the president would "be the mere creature of the Legislature: if appointed & impeachable by that body." An election in the national legislature, in Morris's view, would "be the work of intrigue, of cabal, and of faction." As an alternative, Morris suggested that the executive be chosen "by the people at large, by the freeholders of the Country." Morris' reference to freeholders is important because he was certainly not a democrat. Morris often referred to the great mass of the people as a "reptile" and preferred the ascendancy of the natural aristocracy. Hence, in suggesting that the people choose the president, Morris had in mind men with a stake in society—owners of significant amounts of property.

Other delegates quickly objected to Morris' suggestion. Roger Sherman of Connecticut observed that the people in a country as vast as the United States "would never be sufficiently informed of the characters, and besides will never give a majority of votes to any one man." George Mason of Virginia concurred with Sherman, contending that "it would be as unnatural to refer the

choice of a proper character for chief Magistrate to the people, as it would, to refer a trial of colors to a blind man." Charles Pinckney of South Carolina averred that the people would "be led by a few active & designing men." Additionally, he worried that "[t]he most populous States by combining in favor of the same individual will be able to carry their points."

Debate on the mode of electing the president continued for days. Besides a popular election and election in the national legislature, sundry proposals for choosing the president were offered. Some delegates thought the governors of the states should elect the president, others that either the national House of Representatives or Senate, but not both, should choose the president. James Wilson of Pennsylvania went so far as to suggest that fifteen members of Congress, chosen by lot, should appoint the executive. Rufus King of Massachusetts shot down Wilson's idea, explaining that the nation should "be governed by reason, not by chance."

Though there were many points of contention, the heart of the conflict over selecting a president boiled down to the small states' and sparsely populated Southern states' fear that they would be perennial losers under the proposed constitution. Recognizing this, James Madison observed that a great "difficulty arose from the disproportion of qualified voters in the N. & S. States, and the disadvantage which [popular election of the president] would throw on the latter." Hence, the eventual Great Compromise on the composition of Congress paved the way for a compromise on the election of the president. The Senate promised small states equality in one branch of the national legislature while the House of Representatives promised the larger states power on the basis of population.

With each state receiving an electoral vote for each member of its congressional delegation, the small states were satisfied that they had a meaningful say in the choice of the president while the large states did not consider themselves totally deprived of the voting power wrought by their large populations.

But the historical analysis does not end here. Throughout the constitutional convention the Framers wrestled with the form the new national government would take. Extreme nationalists called for a consolidated government based on the British model; the more republican-minded delegates demanded a system in which the states retained broad prerogatives. In the end the champions of a limited national government prevailed. Writing to his friend Jefferson, Madison described the new Constitution as “present[ing] the aspect of a feudal system of republics.”

This system was created by the people of the several states, the ultimate sovereigns, delegating power to two governmental sovereigns: the state and the national governments. “The Federal and State Governments are in fact but different agents and trustees of the people,” wrote Madison in *Federalist* No. 46, “instituted with different powers, and designated for different purposes.” By ratifying the Constitution in separate conventions, the people of each state took a portion of the power originally delegated to their state governments and transferred this power to the national government. The powers possessed by the state governments before the Constitution, and not affected by the Constitution, remained with the state governments.

When examining the one-person-one-vote argument against the electoral college, it is important to remember that the people of the nation, as one body, did not ratify the Constitution. In fact, the people of the United States have no power whatsoever to act as one body under the Constitution. Amendments to the Constitution are submitted to the several states for their legislatures or conventions to approve. In addition, the people act within their states to elect members of the House and Senate. Under our system, where ultimate sovereignty resides with the people acting within their respective states, it is simply incongruous to elect a chief executive by a nationwide popular vote.

Furthermore, there are numerous instances when the Constitution blocks the will of the numerical majority. The president

can veto legislation passed by majorities of the House and Senate, subject to an override by two-thirds of both chambers. Assuming one accepts the doctrine of judicial review as constitutionally permissible, the Supreme Court affords another example. A measure garnering the approval of the House, Senate, and president could be struck down by the votes of five members of the High Court. Finally, to ratify constitutional amendments three-fourths of the states must approve and the approval of tiny Rhode Island with its one million inhabitants is weighted the same as California with its thirty million inhabitants.

Though the electoral college is consistent with our entire constitutional structure, all must admit that it is far from perfect. The Framers did not foresee the rise of political parties and could not have imagined how tumultuous presidential elections would become. Alexander Hamilton believed that the choice of an intermediate body of electors would “be much less apt to convulse the community, with any extraordinary or violent movements, than the choice of one who was himself to be the final object of the public wishes.” Unfortunately, our presidential con-

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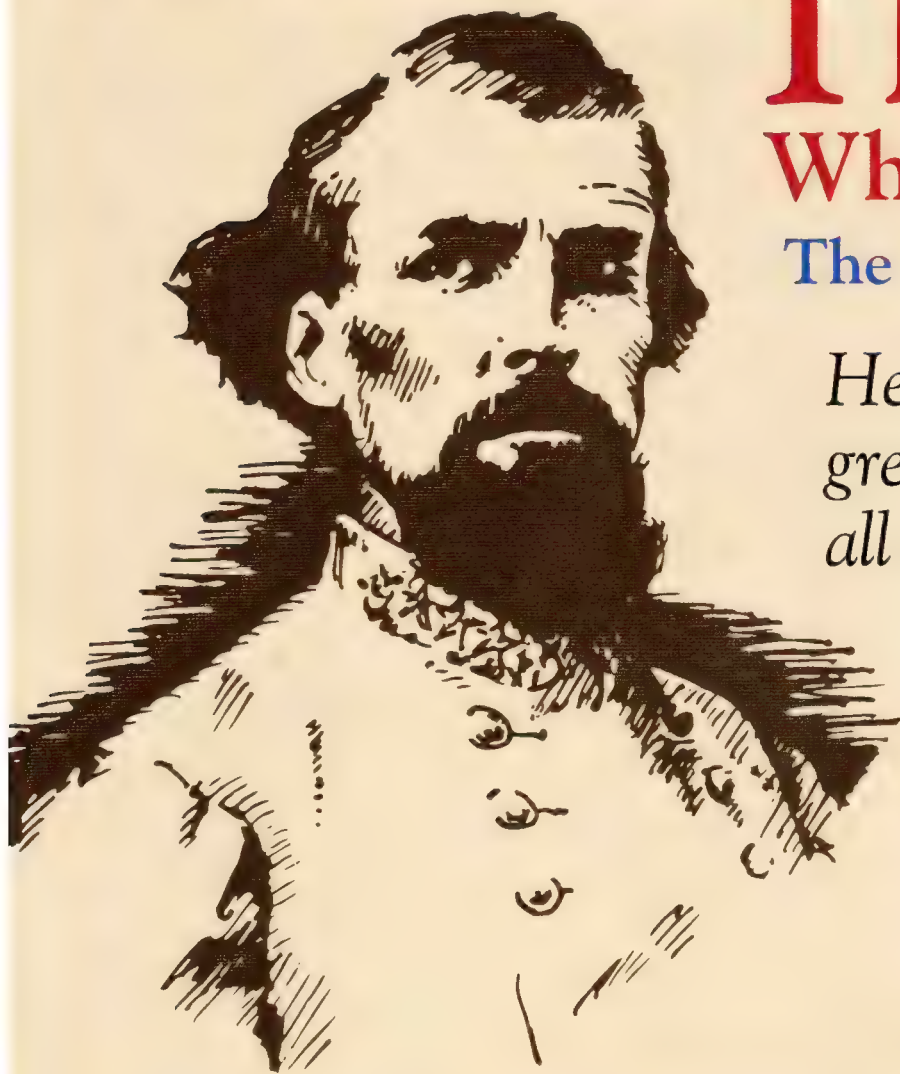
tests, beginning two years before the election itself, are by nature convulsive as political parties battle for supremacy. Until the last election, the people were hardly aware they were voting for slates of electors rather than the presidential candidates themselves. More-over, the electors Hamilton envisioned were “men most capable of analyzing the qualities” of the various candidates. Today, electors are mindless party hacks exercising little deliberation. They promise to vote for their party’s candidate, no matter how bereft of character he might be. In many states it is crime to do otherwise.

Despite valid criticisms of the electoral college, it still performs one important function. In close elections it prevents the most populous states with massive urban centers from dictating the choice of chief executive to the rest of the nation. Mel Bradford once noted that in our system no prediction of a winning candidate could be made until we heard “word from the forks of the creek”: from the older, more stable, and usually rural communities.” The Southerners of 1787 were leery of the power of the large cities of the North, and that concern is still relevant today. Even with the electoral college, places like New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles carry much weight in the presidential election.

Policies of the national government, already in step with urban areas, would likely become more intrusive if the electoral college were abolished. What little attention candidates do pay rural America would be lost if presidential elections were decided by the popular vote. The Great Compromise that made the Constitution possible was based on protection of the interests of the smaller states from King Numbers. This Great Compromise, not just a historical footnote, is still essential to the balance of power.

In light of our constitutional structure in which the people of the several states, the ultimate sovereigns, act only within their respective states, and the concessions made by both sides in Philadelphia in 1787, the electoral college should remain the vehicle for choosing the president of the United States. Calls for one person, one vote make nice sound-bites, but in reality would cause further damage to our republican form of government. ☼

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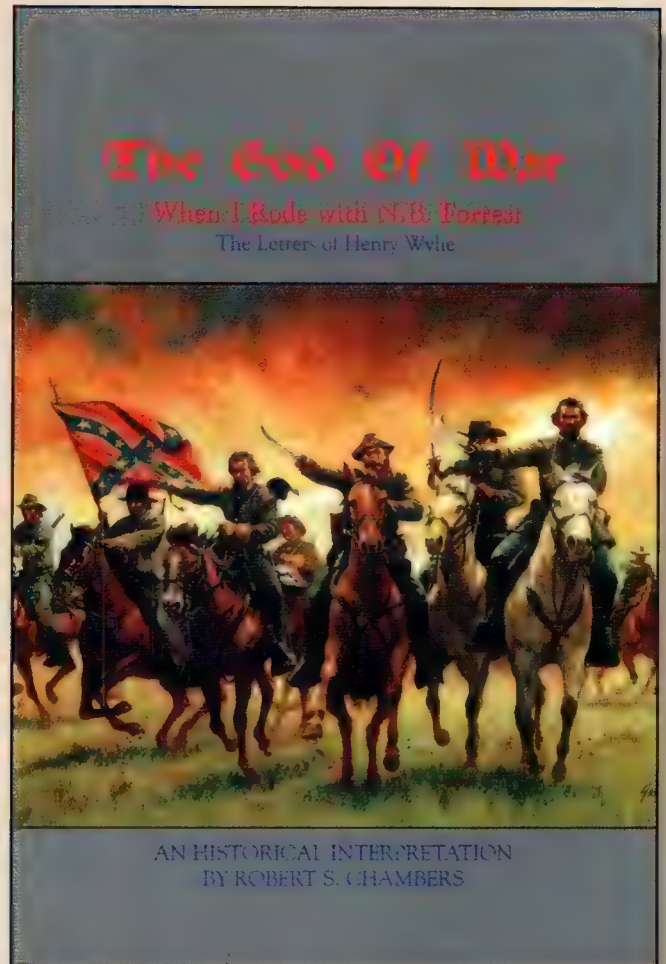
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SMOKE NEVER CLEARS

BY RALPH GREEN

A REVIEW OF

Hunters of the Night, Confederate Torpedo Boats in the War Between the States, by R. Thomas Campbell. Burd Street Press, 2000. 204 pages. \$14.95.

Confederate Generals, Life Portraits, by George Cantor. Taylor Publishing Company, 2000. 194 pages. \$29.95.

As used during the War Between the States, the term "torpedo" meant any underwater explosive device. Torpedo boats were any and all of the various designs employed to deliver the devices to the side of enemy vessels. This is the history of the design, manufacture and utilization of such boats. Unfortunately, as *Hunters of the Night* explains, the Confederate leadership failed to recognize the real value of this new weapon. Although the building of these boats was authorized early in the war, the actual building of them was often hindered by officials who failed to recognize their potential value.

When available, however, these relatively speedy boats proved that by operating within the cover of darkness they could bring fear and destruction to a strategically overpowering and more numerous foe. They caused many a Union sailor to lie awake wondering if the bump he had just heard was a log hitting his ship or a torpedo that would blow him away.

Rather than the destruction of great numbers of enemy ships, the greatest contribution made by these boats was the deterrent factor they became to the Union invaders. Vast quantities of seamen, materials, and ships had to be allocated to guard against their expected attacks. Union offensive plans were often swayed by consideration of their use against the attackers. Confederate General P.G.T. Beauregard paid tribute to the torpedo boats when he commented that future Southerners would ask "how it was that with such a great discovery, offering such magnificent results, we never applied it to

any useful purpose in this contest for our homes and independence." This is a welcome addition to available information on Confederate naval activity.

Confederate Generals, Life Portraits is a collection of illustrated biographies of sixteen selected Southern generals grouped by their logical attributes. Under the heading of "The Legends" are Robert E. Lee, Stonewall Jackson, Joe Johnston, and James Longstreet. Under "The Cavalrymen" are Jeb Stuart, Nathan Bedford Forrest, and John Hunt Morgan. Albert Sidney Johnston, John Bell Hood, and Pat Cleburne constitute "The Western Command."

Understandably, Jubal Early, Braxton Bragg, and Robert Toombs are designated as "The Difficult Men." The last group is "The Eccentrics," made up of P.G.T. Beauregard, Leonidas Polk, and George Pickett. The term "illustrated biographies" is particularly appropriate due not only to the

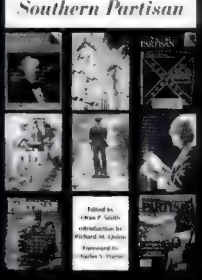
photographs and drawings, but also to the anecdotal information casting light on the lives and actions of these men. Descriptions of each officer's most important military actions are included.

Obviously all aspects of the lives of so many Confederate stalwarts can not be reported in one book. However, the author provides sufficient details to allow the reader to understand the characteristics of each man without slowing the reading. While you might wish that more Southern leaders had been included or quibble about those who were, you can't argue with the quality of these depictions. Depending on one's personal knowledge, this can be excellent as an introduction or as a refresher. ☺

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A Conquering Work, An Unconquerable Man

BY ROBERT L. HAWKINS III

A REVIEW OF

Unconquerable Heart, by Felicity Allen.
University of Missouri Press, 1999. 809
pages. \$34.95.

Can a recent biography offer insight into a present day political campaign?

In the aftermath of an election year which was in turn instructive and comical, the popular bumper sticker "Don't blame me, I voted for Jeff Davis" has been given new meaning, and not just for proponents of six year presidential terms and the line item veto. In a U.S. Senate race in Missouri, known mainly for the unusual result of naming a dead man (and subsequently, his widow) to that august body, flyers were reportedly distributed in black neighborhoods in St. Louis bearing a Confederate flag and a Klan hood, asserting that Republican Senatorial candidate John Ashcroft (now U.S. Attorney General) was a racist for having expressed favorable remarks about Jefferson Davis and others in the pages of this magazine. *The St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, flagship of the Pulitzer chain, opined that Mr. Ashcroft had some explaining to do if he was lauding Confederate war heroes such as Davis.

It took *The Joplin (Mo.) Globe* to point out what readers of Felicity Allen's *Jefferson Davis: Unconquerable Heart* already knew—that Joseph Pulitzer, founder of the publishing empire, was a friend of Mr. Davis, visited him at his last home at Beauvoir, provided his personal Pullman car for travel, employed Varina Davis at one of his New York newspapers, and paid for the funeral expenses of daughter Winnie. Was it not interesting, queried columnist James Wolfe, that the flagship Pulitzer newspaper questioned laudatory comments made by someone about the dear friend of their founder?

Interesting, indeed. One sometimes loses the humanity in the biography, but thankfully, not here. In a labor of love spanning some twenty years, Felicity Allen

manages to transcend the story of Davis the President, the Commander-in-Chief, the Senator, the

Secretary of War, the soldier, that she might offer some scholarly storytelling about Davis the man, the husband, father, friend and citizen. In a time in which even biography seems to be a political and cultural weapon, Mrs. Allen uncovers and offers that extraordinary persona which is Davis, explained in a fashion to be enjoyed by academic and amateur alike. It is a work of warmth and joy, a simple and joyful celebration of a remarkable life.

Here we have a man who survived imprisonment not so much by his "iron will" as by his deeply held Christian faith and simple tenets of living, to which he adhered with devotion. The personification of all that Radical Republicanism despised, torn from his family, shackled, denied counsel and deliberately humiliated by his captors, Davis could still pause when finally offered communion, that he might fully reflect and enter into the Lord's Supper in the proper spirit and with a contrite heart. He simply could not take communion unless assured to his own satisfaction that he was not full of hate for all of those who had so oppressed him, his family and his people.

Even in prison, Davis retained a keen insight regarding the social and political forces whirling around him. Replying to his wife's letters describing the terrible conditions for blacks in the South, he wrote that things would settle down "by the operation of ordinary laws governing the relation of labor to capital if they were let alone. But interference by those who have a theory to maintain by the manufacture of facts must result in evil, evil only and continually. At every renewal of the assertion that the Southern people hate the negroes my surprise is renewed, but a hostility not now or heretofore existing between the races may be engendered by just such influences." Prophetic words from a man whose name is misused as a "racist" bellwether one hundred thirty-five years later.

He could impress and be admired,

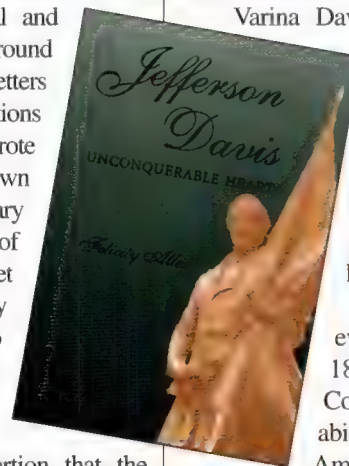
even from across sectional, cultural and political lines. Shortly before his release from Fortress Monroe and after the terms of his confinement had somewhat eased, Davis was visited by a young woman named Mary Day, who remembered that shortly before, in Ohio, she had been singing "Hang Jeff Davis on a sour apple tree". Expecting almost "hoofs and horns," she was "speechless with amazement" when she met him, describing him as "thin, strong features framed with gray locks—one eye faded a little more than the other, but both lightened with a smile that was almost angelic! And the most arresting of all was a quality in his voice that seemed to go directly to one's heart."

Having made friends with the family, and visiting Davis again as she was departing for home, Mary finds him alone with his little daughter, playing at "building blocks." She tries to speak of how her feelings towards him have been altered, but fails for fear of weeping, as his fate at the hands of the federal government had not yet been decided. She is astounded when Davis understands, stoops and kisses her forehead, saying "Daughter" with "that voice of his." He walked her to the door, gave her a parting blessing that she remembered all of her life—and she ran down the steps, sobbing. She related these events to

Varina Davis years later after the President's death, to which Varina replied "Your memory of my dear husband is that of most people who could discern the grace of God which reigned in his heart."

Not all discerned, or even troubled to look. In 1876, a bill was before Congress to remove all disabilities under the Fourteenth Amendment that still barred

former Confederates from holding office. James G. Blaine amended the bill to read "with the exception of Jefferson Davis." Speaking in support of his amendment, Blaine smeared Davis as "the author, knowingly, deliberately, guiltily, and willfully, of the gigantic murders and crimes at Andersonville," which he could have



stopped "by a wink of his eye." It was weak "to allow Davis to go free and hang Wirz." Garfield concluded, "do not ask us to restore the right to hold power to that man...still unaneled [*sic*], unshrived, unforgiven, undefended." Garfield was premature in that last remark, as Northerners such as Samuel S. Cox and General N. P. Banks rose to Davis' defense. Davis, answering a friend's inquiry on this issue, replied that "to remove political disabilities which there was not a legal power to impose, was not an act of so much grace as to form a plausible pretext for the reckless diatribe of Mr. Blaine," but quietly and privately he lobbied to prevent opposition to the amendment, preferring the removal of the disqualification for the wider range of Southerners to a struggle seeking his own vindication.

Never apologetic, and capable even in later life of occasional stridency, Davis managed to live his life with considerable grace and consistency, mindful of all who had suffered at his side and with an eye towards the future, the promise of America, and the care and nurturing of those principles for which he and others had given so much.

It is invigorating to find a work on Davis that seems so fresh and energetic, even when covering some material which has been much perused by scholars. After all these years, his life still resounds, instructs and inspires, for those who will only listen.

Mrs. Allen has made a considerable contribution to the remembrance of that life, that cause and those people. I admit to a smile as I read her dedication of the book, in part, "to Maude Frizzell Hall, my maternal grandmother, a Confederate to the last." Others might benefit from this example, and in more than one way.

Bob Hawkins is Executive Director of Beauvoir, the Jefferson Davis Home and Presidential Library in Biloxi, Mississippi. Mr. Hawkins is a Past Commander-in-Chief of the Sons of Confederate Veterans.

Northern Nationalists

BY H. A. SCOTT TRASK

A REVIEW OF

North over South: Northern Nationalism and American Identity in the Antebellum Era, by Susan-Mary Grant. University Press of Kansas, 2000. 172 pages. \$35.00.

Although the American historical profession continues to crank out unreadable, jargon-cluttered, pseudo-scientific tomes on such vital subjects as racism, sexism, and class oppression, occasionally a work of real history emerges from the abyss. Such is Susan-Mary Grant's *North over South*. Grant's book overturns a whole series of unexamined but fundamental assumptions about the politics of the antebellum era and cause of the War Between the States. It should cause a

whole host of American historians to rethink their understanding of this period of history. Of course, it probably won't. Certain cultural patterns and ideas are by now so deeply entrenched that nothing short of revolution could uproot them.

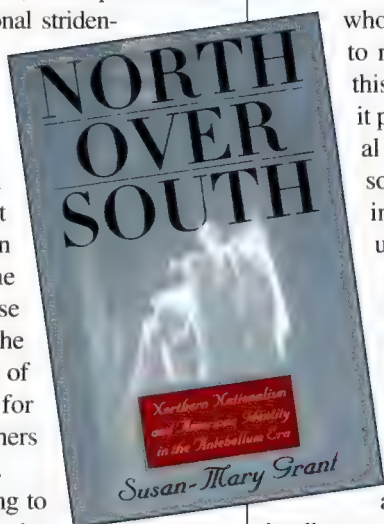
Almost without exception, historians have assumed for generations that the Northern states were more nationally minded than the Southern states. Historians have written of Southern sectionalism and Southern nationalism but hardly ever of *Northern* sectionalism or Northern nationalism. They have assumed that the North valued the union unconditionally, while the South valued it only conditionally. They have explained the rise of the Republican party in the 1850s as a *defensive* response to Southern efforts to spread slavery throughout the union. And all assume that the Northern states represented the American norm and the Southern the aberration. Armed with ample evidence and tight reasoning, Grant discredits *every one* of these assumptions.

The central focus of Grant's book is the development and triumph of a militant Northern nationalist ideology during the later antebellum period. She focuses her study on a handful of prominent and influential Northern nationalists: the abolitionist

Theodore Parker; the writer and lecturer Ralph Waldo Emerson; the educator Horace Mann; the journalist and poet William Cullen Bryant; the travel writer and landscape architect Frederick Law Olmstead. According to Grant, such men were self-consciously Northern rather than American, and they did their best to persuade Northerners to think of themselves as a distinct and superior people. According to Grant, it was not a hard sell. She reminds us that sectional thinking and sectional loyalties can be traced back to the constitutional period, if not earlier. Her book is about how the sectionalism of the early national period grew into two rival and antagonistic nationalisms by the late antebellum period, so that "prior to the Civil War, there was no American identity per se, but rather two separate identities, Northern and Southern, created and sustained in opposition to one another." Her conclusion is that the profession has been wrong to write of Southern sectionalism and Southern nationalism without also admitting the existence of its Northern counterpart.

Grant disagrees that Unionism was stronger in the North than in the South. She argues that the North was committed to the Union only to the extent that they had the dominant position and the rest of the country was willing to submit to their leadership, as well as conform to their idea of the good society. In Grant's words, Northern nationalists believed that "the Union would exist on Northern terms, or not at all." Grant's findings are consistent with those of Lewis Simpson who, in *Mind and the American Civil War* (1988), argued that New England supported the War Between the States primarily as a means to achieve political and cultural hegemony within the union. Northern nationalism "was an ambitious nationalism that sought to impose its own values on the South and on the nation." It was nationally inclusive, *but only at a price*, and "that price was the acceptance of a specifically Northern outlook and ideology."

According to Grant, Northern nationalism was built upon a dual affirmation of the cultural, moral, and material superiority of the Northern states, on the one hand, and the inferiority of all things Southern, on the other. Grant shows how Northern leaders as early as the 1820s portrayed the South as



economically backward, undeveloped, culturally stagnant, ignorant, oligarchic, and poor. By contrast, the North was the model society of the future—economically and morally progressive, free, democratic, rich, and filled with cultural and scientific vitality. Grant argues that during the antebellum period, the South gradually replaced Great Britain and Europe as “the essential negative reference point” in Northern “national construction.” She proves through numerous quotations that overt hostility to the South was an important component of this emerging Northern sectional worldview. She concludes that anti-Southernism fueled Southern nationalism and was a prime cause of the Southern decision to secede. She thus rejects as simplistic and one-sided the view that the South was the aggressor section in the decade leading up to the war, and the North the defensive and patriotic section.

Grant is well aware that not all Northerners accepted the negative critique of the South and not all embraced the new nationalism that called for cultural uniformity along the Northern model. Many Northern writers and politicians continued to praise Southern society for its organic social order, the culture and gentility of its planter class, its pastoral beauty, its peacefulness, and its lack of crime and poverty. The Democratic party remained committed to a “Union that accepted both cultural pluralism and regional diversity.” She also points out that for much of the antebellum period the Northern public was ambivalent about the South, simultaneously holding both positive and negative views of the region.

However, by the 1850s, Northern opinion of the South became both hardened and polarized, with the negative view gaining the preponderance. The Northern majority was no longer willing to tolerate a South that was different. The political manifestation of this change was the rise of a Northern sectional party—the Republicans—who were openly anti-Southern and did not hide their desire to make over the whole country in the image of New England. What had happened?

Grant believes that a variety of factors converged in the 1840s and 1850s to create an environment in which a new and violent

rhetoric alleging the existence of a “slave power” became believable to most Northerners. No longer was the South simply inferior, it was now portrayed as posing a real and tangible threat to Northern institutions, values, and interests. In short, for much of the North the South had become *the enemy*. Grant believes that the convulsions and divisions in Northern society caused by urbanization, industrialization, and mass immigration created a psychological and social need for a scapegoat. As Northern society literally disintegrated, many sought to reunify it by creating a common external enemy.

Not surprisingly, the Northern nationalists cited by Grant were opposed to slavery. In fact, they blamed slavery for everything that was wrong and threatening in Southern society. However, she points out that, with the exception of the abolitionists, their antislavery was political and not moral. She demonstrates conclusively that they simply were not motivated by any concern for the plight of the slaves. In fact, most of them believed that Southern slaves were treated rather well by their masters, were adequately clothed and fed, and lightly worked. Their opposition to slavery was based on the negative influence they believed it had on Southern whites and the threat the aristocratic polity upon which it was based posed to the North. Hence, what they objected to was not so much slavery as the slave-power.

They held slavery to be responsible for the alleged poverty, underdevelopment, shabbiness, and sloth characteristic of Southern society. What’s more, they believed that the existence of slavery provided the South with political advantages not enjoyed by the North and hence allowed the former region to dominate politics at the federal level and to block favorable legislation for their own region. Slavery provided the South with extra representation (the 3/5 clause), imparted a sense of unity to its representatives (of both parties), and produced

superior statesman whose essential ideas were not democratic but aristocratic. Hence, only by destroying slavery could the South be *Americanized* and rendered no longer a threat to the democracy, freedom, equality, and progress that together constituted “the American idea.”

Grant believes that the process of “national construction” was completed with the Northern victory in the war. Thereafter,

Northern cultural norms, ideas, and nationalism became identified as American; and things Southern remained just that, Southern. Thus arose modern American nationalism. Grant sees it founded on a series of ideas, or ideals: democracy, equality, freedom, economic and material progress, and opposition to the South. Although Grant does not reach *this* conclusion, one has to wonder how authentic or healthy is a nationalism that is built upon intellectual abstractions, materialism, and opposition to traditional society (anti-Southernism). Yet one must admit that this ideological nationalism has proved remarkably long-lasting, powerful, and extremely attractive to the huddled masses yearning to spend freely.

Scott Trask is an historian and writer living in Missouri. He is currently doing research and writing on the economic and political culture of the antebellum North.

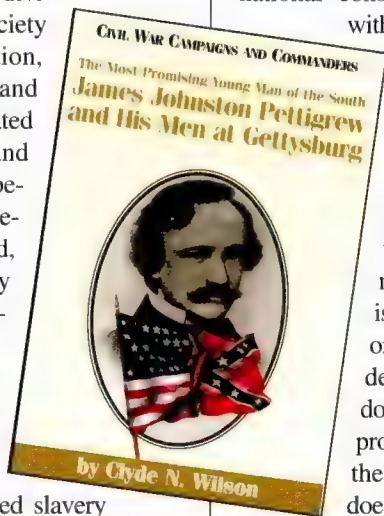
Pettigrew's Promise

BY ADAM L. TATE

A REVIEW OF

The Most Promising Young Man of the South: James Johnston Pettigrew and His Men at Gettysburg, by Clyde N. Wilson. McWhiney Foundation Press, 1998. 95 pages. \$12.95.

When reading Southern history it is always refreshing to come across figures that defy the shallow stereotypes placed upon the Old South by many historians and popular culture. Clyde Wilson’s slim volume *The Most Promising Man of the South: James Johnston Pettigrew and His*



Men at Gettysburg gives life to an interesting figure of the antebellum South. Pettigrew was born July 4, 1828 to a successful planter family in North Carolina. Well educated, the precocious Pettigrew entered the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill at the age of fourteen and graduated first in his class in 1847. After reading law under a Baltimore attorney, he moved to Charleston where, through an inheritance settlement, he became financially independent. During the 1850s Pettigrew twice traveled to Europe, the first time studying law at the University of Berlin, and served a term in the South Carolina legislature where he both blocked a plan to reopen the African slave trade and tried to reform the state militia. Being captivated by military science, he organized an elite infantry regiment to serve the Confederacy upon the declaration of war in 1861. He was wounded and captured at Seven Pines and was exchanged in 1862. He eventually became a Brigadier General in the Army of Northern Virginia, valiantly commanding a brigade of North Carolina troops at Pickett's failed attempt to take Cemetery Ridge on the third day at Gettysburg. Mortally wounded in a skirmish with Yankee cavalry in the retreat from Gettysburg, the talented, devoted Confederate died on July 17, 1863.

Wilson shows that Pettigrew's experiences often matched the lives of young Southern gentlemen of the late antebellum period. For example, he was deeply devoted to the code of honor and became a lawyer, politician, and an amateur writer. Contemporaries perceived Pettigrew's intelligence and devotion to performing his duties as exceptional. The most interesting part of the book, however, is the discussion of Pettigrew's discovery of his Southern identity. Many historians would have one believe that antebellum Southerners became conscious of their identity as Southerners solely through the influence of slavery and the white supremacist political views the peculiar institution supposedly engendered in the whole white population. Pettigrew, however, felt the importance of his Southern identity after his first trip to Europe in the early 1850s. Wilson notes that Pettigrew "admired and identified with the southern Europeans, especially the

Spanish and Italians" because their culture closely resembled Southern culture. Northern Europeans, Pettigrew thought, were more like Yankees in their materialism and love of centralized government. Pettigrew's cultural nationalism seemingly had nothing to do with slavery.

Wilson's book is very well written, concise but packed with good information. The most attractive feature of the book was the many sidebars throughout the text containing biographical information on various figures that were part of Pettigrew's academic and military career. The book leaves the reader with a good understanding of Pettigrew's character but, like any good book, makes the reader want to learn more. For more information on Pettigrew, readers should consult Wilson's 1990 work *Carolina Cavalier: The Life and Mind of James Johnston Pettigrew. The Most Promising Young Man of the South* is a solid addition to anyone's library.

From Taxes to Rebellion

BY JAMES K. TURNER

A REVIEW OF

For Good and Evil: The Impact of Taxes on the Course of Civilization, by Charles Adams. Madison Books, 1999. 541 pages. \$29.95.

The only two things that are certain in this world are death and taxes. Truth be told, the old axiom has been reality for thousands of years. Within his latest book, taxation expert Charles Adams explores the nature of humanity in our quest to enable government without suffering government. Adams' premise is certainly not a novel one; a taxed populace will generally (and often gladly) remit taxes as long as the rates are fitting of need and are equally borne throughout. There is such a thing as a good tax.

Throughout history, almost every tax system that began as a reasonable assessment concluded with increasingly heavy levies, forcing those who were being taxed

into some type of action. As taxes become unbearable, and as they become assessed without the full consent of the taxed, human nature will typically produce a rebellion, evasion, or an exodus that carries with it those and that which would be taxed.

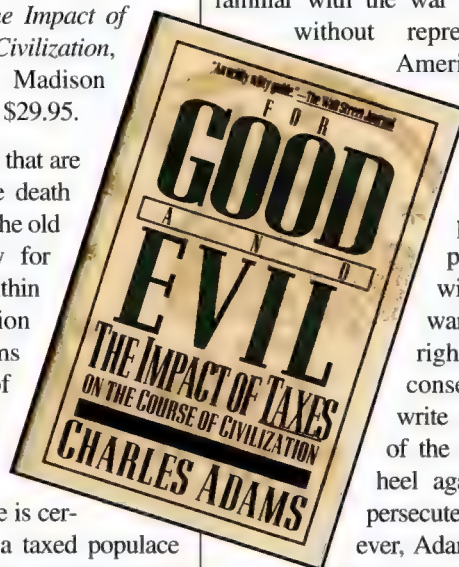
Many Americans will be familiar with the revolt of the Israelites that carried them from tax-slavery into a form of chattel-slavery. Adams characterizes the Jews as the consummate victims of the taxman. Delving deep into Jewish and biblical history, we learn that the Jews consistently stood against the most powerful nations of the ancient world. But right rarely makes might, and though the author admires the stand of the Jews, he characterizes their actions as terribly misguided. Years after the fall of Jerusalem the term "wandering Jew" enters the common language as a medieval tale of a Jew wandering the Earth until the second coming of Christ. As likely as not, the wandering Jews of the period were victims of a taxman who foreclosed on their land.

The most notorious episodes against the taxing authorities are certainly those that involve full-scale revolution. We are all familiar with the war cry, "No taxation without representation." The

American Revolution

against the British Crown is certainly one of the most prominent examples of a people willing to step forward and fight for the right of taxation by consent. Rather than write the standard fable of the oppressive British heel against the neck of persecuted colonists, however, Adams correctly clarifies the taxes as "neither

unfair nor oppressive." Colonial Americans were perhaps the least taxed populace in world history to stage a mass rebellion. The primary "myth-buster" in this volume, however, must be his telling of the true causes of the War for Southern Independence. As Adams begins his story



of ancient kingdoms and their taxation methods, one feels that the stories from the time of Christ somehow relate to our own history of 150 years ago. A student of Egypt, Greece, or the Roman Empire will see veiled references to the battles in the Congress and on the fields of America. The reader will probably succumb to those references and leap forward to the chapter entitled *Was it Taxes, Rather than Slavery, that Caused the Civil War*. Properly referenced, well-annotated, and exquisitely debated, Adams offers a succinct, but thorough, treatise on the reasoning of those who would rise to meet an overwhelming foe. Throughout the book the author suggests that to tax without express consent is robbery, and that proper resistance to robbery is always justified. The motivation of the average Southern citizen is accurately portrayed within the context of those who have always fought for liberty, with liberty being defined as the right to pay no tax to which consent has not been given.

Though revolt as proclaimed by Thomas Jefferson seems the likeliest method of beating the taxman, Adams does a remarkable job of offering another solution from the ages. From self-exiled Romans traveling to the "barbarians" upon the roads that their high taxes built, to the current American establishing an "off-shore" account in the Cayman Islands, the urge to flee the taxman has been an integral part of human history. The reader will gather a fine glimpse into the world of those who give up the "security" of a nation that protects from the outside, yet victimizes from within.

The most common method of tax protest must be that of evasion. We have all heard stories of charitable deductions that never occurred, deductible children who were never born, and cash payments to workers who never declared earnings. But Adams offers insight to just how common these types of evasion are, and presents an amusing account of the millionaires whose wealth suddenly disappeared as the American income tax rates grew in the early part of the twentieth century.

Rulers, whether they be kings, presidents, or dictators, would do well to look to the past history of taxation for a guide to success. For a taxed people will eventually

hide, flee, or fight when their money is not spent to their own benefit. If history is any indicator, and it most certainly always is, America seems headed toward the destiny of a socialist republic. So says Adams, and he gives the proof to verify his vision. Most Americans will work until the end of the May to pay the taxes levied upon them by their federal, state, and local governments. A portion of these taxes will go to national defense and to the general welfare as intended by the framers of the Constitution, but an improper amount will be dispensed into social programs that the Founding Fathers would never have imagined. Adams estimates that if the duties of today's computers were placed into the hands of actual people, then America would have more people acting as taxmen than there are people actually paying taxes. That scenario was in effect as Rome fell, and without serious consideration, America will be doomed to the same fate.

To his credit, Adams offers fully one-third of his book to the causes and solutions of the unconstitutional taxation system that we now submit to. He submits that the tax codes of this country are so immense and complicated that there is not one person who can understand every aspect of the laws. Our tax system has become a wall-draught that can not be reformed with changes; rather, it must be killed and reborn. Until the end of May we are all slaves to the taxman, and only after Tax Freedom day arrives do we become truly possessed of liberty. We are once again a nation that is half-slave and half-free, each taxpayer standing as such.

Twenty years after his 1066 conquest of England, William began recording the ownership and taxable value of the landed estates. Properly known as the Domesday Book, Adams mistakenly calls it the Doomsday Book. As a glaring, though rather insignificant, error to be found in this volume, perhaps it should be noted that the mistake might be more likely attributed to a proofreader than the author. For such a detailed property tax schedule might certainly be viewed as a Domesday Book by today's overtaxed humanity—a Freudian slip that speaks more as confirmation than error.

For the person with an interest in eco-

nomics and taxation throughout history, this is an informative and important volume by one of the experts in the field. But the casual reader will also find captivating stories to explain many of history's most defining moments. Did you know that the Rosetta Stone explained tax relief, that Lady Godiva rode to reduce taxes, that William Tell was forced to release his bow-string because of a stand against unfair taxation? Books on such matters are often as dry as an auditor's sense of humor, but this one offers entertainment, enlightenment, and a call to action. Buy this book, voraciously consume it, and then donate it to your United States Congressman. Then, perhaps we can solve our problems prior to the historically predictable opening shots of the Third American Revolution.

James Turner lives in Nashville where he is a corporate accountant and is the president of ProperGrammar.com.

Medium Rare

BY ANDREW BRUNO

A REVIEW OF

The Civil War and the Press, edited by S. Kittrell Rushing, David B. Sachsman, and Debra Reddin van Tuyl. Transaction Publishers, 2000. 584 pages. \$49.95.

When it comes to War Between the States literature, perhaps you can judge a book by its cover. If the volume comes with a Confederate gray jacket or with a Confederate battleflag adorning its cover, a *Southern Partisan* reader is probably susceptible to its contents. This book comes with a dark blue jacket, plus a dark blue cover. Of the thirty three essays, only two—one on the Albany, Georgia newspaper, the other on a reporter named Samuel Christopher Reid—have many good things to say about the Confederacy and its people.

The essay on Reid also notes that newspaper circulation in the antebellum South was extremely low: No paper sold as many as 10,000 copies of a single edition. So what? Thomas Jefferson remarked that once he stopped reading newspapers and read only the classics, he had never felt so content in his life.

Apparently, most of Jefferson's fellow Southerners felt the same way, at least

concerning the former proposition. Other essayists admit that newspaper accounts of the war and the Confederate government simply reflected Southern opinion. As M.E. Bradford observed, the Confederacy was more a society than a state. Southerners were—and are—a people. They knew who they were, what they wanted; they didn't need racy newspapers to tell them how to think.

Antebellum newspapers often ran verses of poetry on page one. Such poetry may not have been first rate, but it also reflected the dislike for mere journalism and a yearning for a higher art form. As late as 1936, the *Richmond Times-Dispatch* published Allen Tate's "To The Lacemonians" on a page one number to highlight a Confederate veterans reunion in that city.

An essay on the maverick Ohio journalist Samuel Medary, acknowledges that Abraham Lincoln's administration censored the news and jailed dissenters without the right to trial. Jefferson Davis had his critics in the press, but none of them ever ended up in jail. If anything, Southern newspapers were a bit churlish: They opposed conscription on the grounds that no journalist, in times of war, should be taken from the newspaper offices to the battlefield. The essay on Medary also claims the coming "popularity of objective journalism soon [reduced] the influence of partisan newspapers."

However, no regime, including ours, allows for much objectivity in wartime. Lincoln's behavior certainly set a pattern—consider the way only dissenters were treated during both World War I and II. Consider also the lapdog behavior of the media during the Gulf War. Newspapers have always been partisan; in the past they were more honest about their agenda.

Today, newspapers in the South are not only owned by Northern-based chains, they are also militantly and bitterly anti-Southern, the war against the battleflag being only the most obvious example. The Medary essay also lists the number of

opposition newspapers that existed in the copperhead precincts of the Midwest. That was during the war.

This volume would have been greatly enhanced by the Thomas Diloranzo essay, which cited all the Northern papers—in cities as different as New York, Chicago, Cincinnati, Washington, Indianapolis, Providence, Hartford, Detroit, plus such smaller ones as Kenosha, Wisconsin, Greenfield, Massachusetts, and Concord, New Hampshire—that editorialized in favor of the South's right to secede. Alas, that essay,

"Yankee Confederates: New England Secession Movements," was in another Transaction volume, *Secession, State & Liberty*.

The Civil War and the Press—which assumes the South "started" the war by seceding—is not for readers of *Southern Partisan*, while *Secession, State & Liberty*—which both criticizes the real aggressors of the war and, in general, supports the idea of political independence in the face of an overbearing state—definitely is for readers of this publication.

Fields of Our Fathers

BY ALAN CORNETT

A REVIEW OF

Our Father's Fields: A Southern Story by James Everett Kibler. University of South Carolina Press, 1998. 444 pages. \$29.95.

If you want to understand the universal, you must start with the particular—the local. Such an idea is out of fashion in a day when we are urged to "act globally," and something called the "global economy" is lauded, while a local economy is seldom considered. Jim Kibler is very aware of the prevailing attitude and his wonderful book, *Our Father's Fields*, stands in outright defiance of modern sentiment.

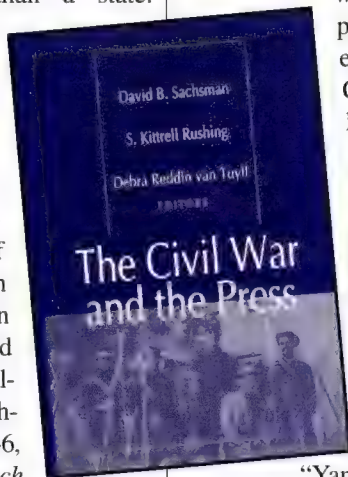
In 1989, Kibler purchased a run-down South Carolina plantation house and the

acres surrounding it. What he began was a major act of recovery, saving the home from deterioration. But as the restoration continued, Kibler became more and more consumed with this place. And Kibler did more than simply have the place; he began to live the place.

Piece by piece, the new master of Hardy Plantation began to realize his vision of connecting to the history of his new home. He began with the understanding that he walked among ghosts. Beginning over two-hundred years earlier, generation after generation of men and women of the Hardy family had lived and died to build this plantation. Intent upon keeping his restoration within the spirit of the Hardy Plantation's past, Kibler began research into its history. He gathered old pictures, talked to surviving Hardy family members and began delving into old letters and record books. Initially Kibler simply wanted his restoration to be authentic. He sought, for example, to discover the fauna used in its formal gardens. He pored over dusty nineteenth century nursery records and uncovered the popular plants used by the area's plantations. Slowly, the Hardy homestead began to revive.

Kibler, an English professor by profession and a poet by avocation and temperament, has combined literary skill with the research and tirelessness of a good historian to produce what stands in many ways as a unique book. *Our Father's Fields* is exhaustive in its treatment of the plantation's economy, its slave life, and its natural environment. Kibler writes as only someone who is both intimate with a subject and objective about it can. The tenderness he has for these long dead Hardys shines through, as does Kibler's encyclopedic knowledge of the plantation's day-to-day life gleaned through uncountable hours of research into the primary sources.

Kibler paints the portrait of a real-life working plantation, which was often different from the common stereotype. Here were people striving for self-sufficiency while at the same time seeking to enjoy the pleasures of life. Kibler writes, "Although the plantation strove for self-sufficiency, Hardy's purchases in the 1850s show that life was not puritanically severe and Spartan. It had its velvet caps and linen



vests and frock coats, its sugar, silver, and silk, its ginger and Brazil coffee, items which could not be produced on the place...."

The view he gives us often runs against commonly accepted dogma. Quoting from an interview with a former slave on a nearby plantation, Kibler records there was, "Plenty to eat; plenty to wear; plenty wood to burn; good house to live in; and no worry 'bout where it was a-coming from.... Dem was de times when everybody had enough to eat and more dan dey wanted, and plenty clothes to wear." Kibler's account of slavery in the area, much based upon actual slave interviews, is fascinating and illuminating.

Ultimately, of course, the life the Hardys knew would end with Lincoln and Sherman's war of conquest against South Carolina and the South. Providing the text of numerous letters, Kibler shows the profound impact the war had on these people. They touchingly write of their loss and the soldiers of their longing for home. To add insult to the injury of Hardy blood shed during the war, Kibler recounts the story of "bummers" following in the wake of

Sherman's destruction. They robbed the main house and the slave quarters, either taking or destroying all the food on the plantation. The silver was saved by being lowered into the well by piano wire. Through chance the home was spared the torch.

We have Jim Kibler to thank that their "Southern Story" has not gone unrecorded. Through his account of these acres and this old home in the South Carolina backcountry, we learn what the true Southern story is. It is a story of generations of family living with, and for, the land and each other. And we learn also that each Southern story is different, varying with its own local complexity. The true Southern story can only be told one at a time.

Alan Cornett serves as minister to the Lake Street Church of Christ in Nicholasville, Kentucky.

Confederate Call to Action

BY BECKY BARBOUR

A REVIEW OF

The Southern Nation: The New Rise of the Old South, by R. Gordon Thornton. Pelican Press, 2000. 251 pages.

What Grissom's *Southern By The Grace of God* (1988) did for Southern pride and the Kennedys' *The South Was Right* (1994) did for Southern nationalism, R. Gordon Thornton does for Southern independence. In fact, Thornton considers his work *The Southern Nation: The New Rise of the Old South*, a compliment to and completion of this trilogy. This book is not for the apathetic or the faint-of-heart—Thornton tells his reader why and how to fight for Southern freedom.

Late twentieth century American society bears little resemblance to the society envisioned by the Founding Fathers and outlined in the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. Recognizing that the victors write the history books, Thornton's first task is to reeducate or at least remind his reader that Thomas Jefferson's principle of self-determination is not only a right for free people of a common heritage, but also a duty; for those men knew that secession was the ulti-

mate test of freedom. The author does an admirable job of presenting a fact-based account of American history—facts which most history books, written and published in the North, neglect and of which most Americans are woefully ignorant.

Thornton describes the South as a captive nation of the American Empire; a nation with its own distinct social, religious, political and cultural traditions, but a nation without a country. He cites the 20 new secessionist republics that emerged between 1990 and 1994 that the United States has formally recognized and frequently punctuates his study with these and other examples of efforts toward independence starting with the American colonies in 1776, the South in the 1860s and including Ireland, Scotland, India, the Baltic states, Slovakia and currently, Quebec. Of course, New England's attempts at secession in the first half of the nineteenth century are not overlooked and help complete the list of examples that the author draws on for his paradigm for Southern independence. These models rest upon the essence of his principles of Southern freedom. "It is our duty and obligation to practice our God-given right of self-determination."

While the Kennedy brothers may have rendered justification for the South's first attempt at secession unnecessary, *The New Rise of the Old South* abounds with examples of contemporary social ills brought about by a corrupt Empire that has been exploiting the South, her people, her economy and her resources for the past 130 years. Thornton exposes the myth of multiculturalism that is commonly sold as "tolerance" and "brotherhood" but which in reality is a facade for non-culture in its most benign form and cultural genocide at its worst. The decline in the standards of education are particularly dangerous as the ignorant have little option than to follow blindly as the Empire dictates how they should think and act. Thomas Jefferson knew that education and knowledge were necessary for gaining and preserving liberty. Thornton wants his reader to know this as well. Standing in the way of that education is what the author considers the most destructive influence on our society—the media. Through this "ministry of propa-



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ganda", the Empire purposefully portrays the South as inferior and evil while perpetrating its own lack of moral standards and its materialistic non-culture.

But *The Southern Nation* is not merely a denunciation and expose of the U.S. "Empire." Thornton's agenda is an independent Southern nation and he clearly outlines the necessary steps for achieving that goal. First, the reader is reminded that the North and the South are different societies, different nationalities and that it is the South and her legislators who, despite overwhelming odds and ultimately in vain, continue to try to steer our course in the direction the Founding Fathers originally pointed the nation. Next, we learn of the resources available in the South that could sustain her as a viable and independent country. Finally, Thornton tells us exactly what we need to do personally and as a community to achieve our independence. Through personal development, education, and growth, we must shun the Empire's vices and arm ourselves not with weapons, but with truth,

knowledge, and an attitude of defiance. The author neatly provides his reader with a synopsis of common attacks and criticisms and several appropriate responses to each. Also helpful are appendices that list other resources necessary to the movement—books, periodicals, heritage organizations, and websites, for example.

R. Gordon Thornton's greatest limitation is lack of organization. *The Southern Nation* is sometimes disjointed as eighteenth century principles become obscured with twentieth century events and social conditions. The comparative value of this method is important; however, Thornton occasionally neglects to adequately explain principles essential to understanding his premise and instead refers the reader to another source, often Kennedy. References to current events in Georgia and Arkansas, for example, not only date the work but many readers outside those states may not be familiar with them. Somewhat annoying is his use of the term "Southrons" without explaining

its significance until page 182. Moreover, some readers may be deterred by Thornton's use of a personal story that opens the first chapter. These minor issues, however, do not diminish the overall importance of the work.

If the Kennedys' *The South Was Right* is the "Bible" of Southern nationalism, then *The New Rise of the Old South* is the nationalists' handbook. As Thornton so succinctly puts it: "We are a Southern nation and we are being dragged to our death as the remains of the American imperial system drowns in its own bodily wastes." And he reminds us that Southerners want nothing more than that which is their right—government with their consent. This book is not a political discourse; it is not an attack on liberalism; it is not an apology for slavery. This is a call to action and the library of a Southern nationalist is not complete without it.

Becky Barbour lives in Charleston, South Carolina where she is a graduate student. ☼

Corps of Discovery

BY DAVID M. LESSER

A REVIEW OF

Lewis and Clark for Kids: Their journey of discovery with 21 activities by Janis Herbert. Chicago Review Press, 2000. 143 pages. \$14.95.

How would you feel if you had to lead an expedition to a land where any minute you could be attacked by Indians and wild animals? That is what President Thomas Jefferson asked Meriwether Lewis to do. Lewis sent a letter to his best friend, William Clark, asking him to join the expedition as co-commander; this book is about their expedition from St. Louis, Missouri to the Pacific Ocean. Their goal was to go up the Missouri River until they got to the Columbia River and follow it to the Pacific Ocean. They were to pass a lot of Indian nations, go over the mountains, draw maps of the area, and write all about the plants and animals they would see.

Lewis and Clark and the men with them

were called the Corps of Discovery. They explored the unknown

land of the Louisiana Purchase. They met a lot of native Indian tribes. Lewis and Clark were always finding fur traders who spoke the Indian languages, so they would bring the traders along to help them talk to the Indians. Most of the Indians were nice to them and traded furs and food for knives, tobacco, and face paint. The Blackfoot, however, were very mean. They stole horses and weapons from the Corps of Discovery and even killed three of their men. Lewis and Clark discovered many plants and animals that no one back East knew about, including bitterroot, buffalo, grizzly bears, wolves, and prairie dogs. One of the most exciting things was when they first saw the Pacific Ocean.

A lot of the book is taken directly from the journals that Lewis and Clark kept during their trip (including misspelled words). Other parts of the book that were helpful were the timelines in the front of the book along with the maps. I also liked the headings for each section and the side bars on almost every page that gave additional information. The only part of the book that I did not care for

was that the author tells about the deaths of some of Lewis' and Clark's families. Another part I really liked was that William Clark was home-schooled just as I am.

There are crafts in the book that help you understand the story better. For some of them you will need adult supervision. The crafts that I found to be the most fun were the face painting, making moccasins, and making a full-sized teepee (spelled tipi in the book).

In the back of the book there are web addresses about various things of interest in the book. There is a web address about different kinds of bears with ten cool facts about bears. At the web address about prairie dogs, you can hear them bark and chatter to one another. There is also a web address about finding distances between points all around the world. It is really cool.

If you like adventure and the outdoors, this is a great book for you. It would be interesting for anyone who is about 4th grade or older. Boys may like it a little bit more than girls, but both will enjoy it. I highly recommend it!

Mr. Lesser is in the 8th grade and lives in South Carolina. ☼

Spared But Not Forgotten

BY SARAH GANNS &
MISS ALISON SCHOOLER

Washington, Georgia was "a little too far off the beaten path," said Skeet Willingham, a local writer. That's why W.T. Sherman didn't burn it on his fiery journey north after the War Between the States. Instead of a litter of ruins and modern buildings, Washington, located in Wilkes County, Georgia, boasts over 100 antebellum homes, many of which are open to the public.

Washington, Georgia stands as a monument to the Confederacy. Founded in 1780, Washington sent four southern units to the Rebel cause. The square in front of the present-day Washington courthouse saw "the final acts of the Confederacy... signed," noted Willingham, who guided the tour bus around the town.

Willingham also boasted that ten Confederate generals came from Washington and Wilkes County. "It is amazing to me how many important figures came out of this area," remarked Bob Hester, a tour participant. Counting back the months, Willingham joked rather seriously that even Jefferson Davis, was conceived in Washington.

Our visit included a tour of neoclassical columns and white picket fences among antebellum homes. The city enjoys over one hundred such homes along its streets. One in particular served as a place of refuge to Mrs. Jefferson Davis after the war. Today, a young family is in the process of continuing its restoration.

After riding through Washington on its narrow winding streets, we came to the first of three grand residences through which visitors would walk.

The Barnett House, a museum and

plantation home, dates back to 1835. Inside the house, docents direct observers' attention to such historical items as signed documents, civil war relics, and 19th century furniture.

Just down the street, past the homes whose open screen doors welcome passersby, the E. Robert Toombs House shines bright white in the sun at the end of



a long lawn. According to an old newspaper article, this lawn was covered in flowers at one time. Today, restorers are attempting to discover exactly what kinds of flowers were planted so they can restore the gardens. Restoration of the gardens alone is estimated to cost approximately \$250,000.

E. Robert Toombs, a state legislator, a U.S. Congressman, and a U.S. Senator, was a physically large man, even by today's standards. At 6'4" and 200 pounds, Toombs loomed over most of his contemporaries. Skeet Willingham, with writer's candor, commented, "Toombs was an obnoxious character... he had an awful personality." Toombs, Willingham explained, was an impassioned supporter of the Confederacy, and resented the fact that Jefferson Davis had been made president of the Confederacy rather than him.

A Toombs family member occupied the Toombs House until 1975 when the state of Georgia bought the property from the Toombs' estate and spent nine years restoring what is today an historical landmark.

The Toombs House, opened to the public in 1982, shows how grandly the "unreconstructed rebel" lived. Because he earned \$50,000 annually and sometimes took in that same amount in a matter of days, he had the means to fill his house with silk chairs, marble tables, and fine wood floors.

Located immediately off the room-sized entryway are twin parlors, one for the men, and one for the ladies. The cool blue dining room seated guests for 12-course meals, and the bookshelves were stocked with law books from Toombs' personal collection. Always observing tradition, Toombs insisted that a millstone rest in the brick in front of the house. The millstone is supposed to bring good luck to the home and those within its walls, according to old English tradition.

For many of the participants in the tour, this was their first introduction to Bob Toombs. "I didn't know that Toombs had tried to be president of the Confederacy," said Traci Schleimer. Her husband Michael Schleimer added, "People need to think more about history and what it (the Rebel flag) was about."

Discussing Toombs' years in exile after the War Between the States ended, Bob Hester noted, "Bob Toombs saw how the federal government was going down and that is why he came to join the Confederacy, and (after the war was over) that's why he never became a U.S. citizen."

Today, the hearts and minds of Washington, Georgia residents honor Bob Toombs with nearly everything the town has to offer. Even Main Street in Washington is named Robert Toombs Avenue.

Bob Toombs was a close friend of Alexander H. Stephens, owner of the next historical house visited on the tour. Toombs and Stephens were such good friends that they each built a bedroom in their house for the other to stay in when he visited. They could also banter heatedly with each other without offending the

other. Once, an angry Toombs told Stephens he would eat him whole. Stephens retorted, "If you do, you will have more brains in your belly than you do in your head."

A.H. Stephens was "the most famous statesman in Georgia," in one guide's opinion, even more so than Jimmy Carter was and is. Stephens was Vice-President of the Confederacy, and before that he was a congressman and a personal friend of Abe Lincoln, in addition to serving as governor of Georgia.

Stephens built his home in Crawfordville, Georgia, for the purpose of studying law and having guests. He never married because he stayed sickly all his life, and he didn't want to burden a wife. Still, he was ninety-five pounds of intelligence and generosity, according to legend and history. His house is called Liberty Hall because it was open to any passing

stranger who wanted to stay for the night.

The present Liberty Hall was built in 1875, a replica of an older edifice which Stephens had razed. The Victorian-style building welcomes guests with its cozy dark wood, purple silk furniture, and painted window shades. In all houses of this era, closets are non-existent. Homeowners used wardrobe chests instead because houses were taxed by the number of rooms they had. Having a closet meant paying more in taxes, thus most people preferred wardrobe chests.

Next door to Liberty Hall stands a Confederate museum, which houses one of the finest collections of War Between the States artifacts in Georgia. Across the street, the Ruffin Flag Company occupies a little shack of a house, though it is the largest purveyor of Confederate flags in Georgia.

Visitors to Wilkes County, Georgia

should make plans to stay at least one night in a guesthouse or Bed and Breakfast. Some of the antebellum homes have been equipped to host visitors, and to give them a glimpse of life before the War Between the States.

In the end, who knows whether Washington, Georgia was just out of the way, or whether other strategic reasons kept Sherman from torching this charming town. Whatever the reason for its survival, Washington still thrives in a hearty salute to antebellum times and represents a part of history many hold dear. Its sense of the South remains intact and its commitment to history exudes pride. Washington, Georgia, indeed, is a town like no other.

Misses Ganns and Schooler write for the Times Examiner newspaper in Greenville, South Carolina. ★



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INQUIRIES AND PAYMENTS: All checks and inquiries should be sent to Dr. Donald W. Livingston, Director, League of the South Institute, 478 Burlington Rd., Atlanta, Ga. 30307; phone and fax 404-377-0484.

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TOPICS: A Moral, Legal, and Philosophical Examination of Total War and Reconstruction. Was the Lincoln Administration Guilty of War Crimes? The South's Experience of Total War and



DEVOUTLY SPEAKING

BY TOMMY STRINGER

Playing On God's Patio

During a recent Sunday morning worship service, a local Southern Baptist church of substantial size televised their youth group's summer mission trip. Using a power point presentation projected onto a giant screen hanging above the choir, the pastor extolled the evangelistic results of the youth group's visit to various prisons. At the end of the media presentation, the group of approximately 100 young people filed onto the stage behind the pulpit to share their prison program with the congregation. At the sound of a drum machine, the group began a dance first made popular by John Travolta in the movie *Saturday Night Fever*. With fingers alternating from floor to roof, the main group discoed across the stage while a smaller group hoisted a girl onto their shoulders and paraded her around on their shoulders as she formed the shape of the cross.

After returning her to the floor, the group began singing Christian lyrics to Peter Gabriel's "Take Me to the River." As a reminder to those not familiar with progressive British rock, Peter Gabriel is not considered a Christian singer and the original words of his song describe two people in the river whose activities could not be mistaken for a Baptism. After the group had completed their evangelistic overture, the pastor walked to the microphone, smiled out over the congregation and said in his best electric voice, "Let's give God a hand." Unfortunately, the event described above is not uncommon in large Southern Baptist churches and it begs the question: what is the state of Christ's

church in the South?

Being Southern, we cannot answer a question about our current religious condition without first looking to our past to see where we have been. The South's military surrender at Appomattox Courthouse did not spell the end of Northern hostilities toward Southern institutions. From Reconstruction until the 1970's, the pressures applied to the South by various Northern reform movements created and sustained a social solidarity not seen in the South before the War. By asserting our political solidarity, we eventually regained control of our State governments and our prominence in national politics.

But, as important as the solid political South was to regaining control of our economic fortunes, we would not have succeeded without a solid religious South to sustain our spirits. After the War, the Southern Church, spiritually refreshed from the revivals of the Southern Army, reasserted its belief in the primacy of scriptures as the revealed word of God while the Northern Church continued its downward spiral into a rationalized skepticism. For a hundred years, the fundamental belief in scripture was held by the vast majority of Southern Christians regardless of denomination.

Standing alongside the belief in scripture as one of the pillars supporting the old Southern society was a related belief in the primacy of manners. The Ten Commandments, the same commandments that are now banned from our courthouses, taught our ancestors how to interact with God and man. Knowing that we should treat our neighbors as we would hope to be treated prompted us to develop a complex set of cultural manners that allowed ladies and gentlemen to interact graciously in the frontier environment that was the Old South. Much has been made of the *Code Duello* and the Old South has been roundly condemned for encouraging personal violence as an acceptable method to solve disagreements. However, the Southerner's understanding that there is an ultimate price to pay for one's behavior is a fundamental tenet of scripture. The Modern South has lost much in its understanding of manners. With the influx of rustbelt refugees

crowding our suburbs, the reactions of the most well bred Southerner has become barely recognizable from his Northern neighbor. Even our small attempts to reinstate the old habit of requiring Yes, Ma'am and No, Ma'am from our school children has met much ridicule in the press.

More important than our interaction with our fellow man is our relationship with God. As God dictated His Commandments to Moses, He made it very plain that He expects us to have no other gods before Him. We are to worship Him with a meek heart and due reverence as commanded by scripture. While most Southerners still believe holy scripture, they sometimes fail to understand the fundamental danger of not participating in a formal worship service. Formal worship should be our means to acknowledge that we are nothing without the atoning sacrifice of Jesus Christ.

By encouraging their congregations to replace the traditional Sunday morning formal worship service with a contemporary service, well-meaning Southern ministers are allowing their congregations to deny one of the basic attributes of God—His command to be revered.

In our modern era of all-inclusiveness, many Christians would argue that a person's worship style is a matter of personal choice. They would assert that God looks not on the outward form but on the heart. Indeed, God does look on the heart. One only has to read the story of Cain and Abel to understand that God looks at the worshiper's intent. As with developing a system of manners, the problem of developing the proper system of worship has bedeviled humans since Adam. Someone once commented that the first murder occurred over a disagreement about worship styles. Though this observation is not entirely accurate, it does remind us that fighting over worship styles can lead to violence.

As a reminder to those of you who slept through Sunday school, Cain killed Abel in a fit of jealousy. God had commanded that He be worshiped through the offering of a blood sacrifice. Abel obeyed God's command, while Cain decided to worship God in a way that was more

reflective of Cain's personality. Cain was a very good farmer and was proud of his harvest. Perhaps, uncomfortable killing a defenseless lamb, Cain reasoned that God would be just as pleased to receive an offering of his produce. God was not pleased and instructed him to look to Abel's sacrifice as an example. Instead of humbly receiving God's instruction, Cain murdered Abel, causing his blood to cry out to God.

Certain similarities exist between Cain's reasoning and the reasoning of those that want to replace formal worship with something more contemporary. Cain assumed that the worship service was a good place to show what he had accomplished. He demanded that the worship service be structured for his comfort. He mistakenly concluded that the worship service focused on him and not God. Cain was the first official member of the "me" generation.

In our day, the trend toward contemporary services does not appear to be a grass-roots effort by individuals. In fact, the individual parishioner often does not control the way in which he publicly worships. The growth of contemporary services has been a top-down effort by large denominations to use modern marketing techniques to attract new members, often while ignoring the needs and complaints of older parishioners. Many churches boast that they have two services each Sunday morning, one traditional and one contemporary. However, the resources of the church are focused on the contemporary service while the traditional service, and those who attend it, go begging.

Unfortunately, evangelistic efforts and secular marketing have had a long-standing relationship, with the congregational meetings of the Puritans being the first example of high-pressure marketing

to be seen in this country. The image of Jonathan Edwards pounding the pulpit, spewing spit into the air and calling down fire and brimstone onto the heads of repenting sinners is a familiar scene in our cultural memory.

Early Christians realized that the primary purpose of the service was to worship God, not to evangelize the unconverted.

Though the results of these evangelistic meetings were generally positive, there were many "converts" who responded to the emotional pressure of the moment only to return to their old lifestyle once Sunday was over.

The secular marketplace was quick to notice the effectiveness of emotional pressure. You need only compare the snake-oil salesman on the back of his wagon to the evangelist or the door-to-door salesman with Christians on visitation night to see the similarities in approach. It was not until the advent of the electronic age that the Church began looking at alternative ways to spread the Gospel. By this time, secular marketing had far outpaced the Church in the sophistication of its marketing techniques and the Church was quick to copy.

Evidence of this imitation can be readily seen in the nearest church youth group. On any given Sunday, you can see teenagers in the same youth group wearing Air Jordan T-shirts and Air Jesus T-shirts. By reducing Our Savior to a consumer product, we are teaching our youth that there is no difference between Michael Jordan and Jesus Christ.

The Apostle Paul, in his letter to the Colossians, declares that all things should be done decently and in order. His statement sounds like a simple definition of a formal worship service. The worship service of the early church focused on the Lord's Supper. Meeting in secret and under the threat of persecution, early Christians worshipped God by acknowledging the onetime sacrifice of Christ. Interestingly, early Christians would allow the unconfirmed to attend only part

of the worship service. Visitors could stay through the Creed (and through the offering, if it was a Baptist church) but had to exit before Communion was offered.

Early Christians realized that the primary purpose of the service was to worship God, not to evangelize the unconverted. As modern Christians, we should emphasize that contemporary services be used as an evangelistic tool during revival meetings or weekday Bible studies to bring sinners to Christ. However, once converted, these new Christians should be taught that true worship is much more than singing praise hymns, waving your hands and being happy.

The South has been called the last incarnation of Christendom. The older religiousness of the South, as discussed in various essays by Tate, Weaver and Walker, refers to the elements of medieval Christian belief retained by the average Southerner, regardless of denomination. A fundamental belief in Scripture and an acknowledgement of the mysteries of God continue to separate the South from a world that has turned lukewarm or apostate. We are blessed with a variety of denominations that remain true to the Christian faith and whose roots stretch back to our founding. Before the Baptists came, the Anglican liturgy lifted God over the Virginia Tidewater and Carolina Lowcountry, Presbyterian determinism moved through the Blue Ridge from western Virginia all the way into North Georgia, Methodism worked its way into the new frontier of Alabama and Mississippi, and Roman Catholicism celebrated the holy mysteries throughout Louisiana. Though distinct, each denomination serves a purpose in the one body of Christ.

The history and traditions of each denomination bring not only texture to the South's social fabric, but also they bring comfort to those Christians who demand a connection with the past. As the world speeds headlong into darkness, we must resist those who demand radical changes to our religion and trust that which has sustained us through the ages. We must resist those that want to change God's house into God's patio.

Our regular columnist, Bob Hilldrup, will return with the next issue.



PARTISAN OUTDOORS

BY JIM MCCAFFERTY

The Great Teddy Bear Hunt

Holt Collier was in a quandary. President Theodore Roosevelt had come all the way from Washington, D. C., to hunt black bear in the Mississippi Delta, and Holt, among the most famous bear hunters in the South—and even the country—had guaranteed game for the President to shoot. And that wasn't going to be easy. It was 1902, and the swarms of bears that had once populated Mississippi's bottomlands had been thinned out considerably. But a commitment was a commitment. "I'm going to get you a bear," he had jokingly promised T. R., "if I have to tie one up and bring it to you."

The President was not the only dignitary in Holt's hunting party. Among the sportsmen gathered together that November 14th in the backwoods of Sharkey County, Mississippi, were Stuyvesant Fish, president of the Illinois Central Railroad; John McIlhenny, of the Louisiana Tobasco Sauce McIlhennys; John M. Parker, who would be governor of Louisiana; Huger Foote, grandfather of Civil War authority Shelby Foote; and LeRoy Percy, soon-to-be U. S. Senator and the great uncle of novelist Walker Percy.

More than a little conspicuous among this lily-white congregation of capitalists and politicians was the office-less, practically property-less, former slave, Holt Collier. Ex-slaves may have been common in the turn-of-the century Delta, but Holt Collier was a very uncommon man. Even before he was chosen as a guide for the

presidential hunting party, Holt had led a life of adventure that included a stint as a Confederate cavalry scout under Texas General Sullivan Ross, wild-west-style gunfights, and horse-breaking on a Texas ranch. He was best known as a bear hunter—perhaps the greatest of all times. He stopped counting after he had killed 2217—many of them with a knife. Little wonder he was tapped as T. R.'s bear guide.

But things weren't panning out as planned. Holt's dogs had started a bear and chased it all morning, but the President—who insisted upon being called "Colonel," his former military rank, during the course of the hunt—was never quite in position for a shot.

Now, after a warm autumn day of galloping horse and hounds through the dense Delta jungle of cane and brier, Holt finally cornered an old bruin. It backed into the cool, shaded waters of a sluggish slough called Coon Bayou. Holt sounded three blasts on his hunting horn to summon the other hunters to where the bear was bayed.

But again, everything was going wrong. With Roosevelt still miles away, separated from Holt and the bear by hundreds of acres of canebrakes and brier-choked thickets, the bear and the hounds were fighting furiously. If the fray worsened, Holt would be forced to intervene to save the dogs, even if it meant killing the president's bear.

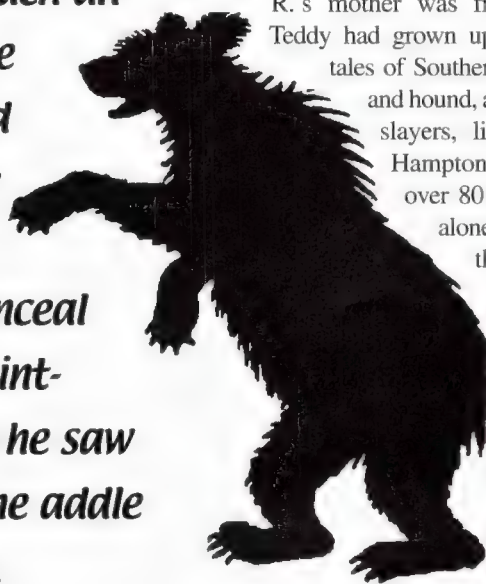
Expecting such an heroic scene of fang and claw, Teddy could scarcely conceal his disappointment when he saw Holt with the addlepated bear.

All was blurred motion as the bear and hounds went at it, splashing and slashing in the chill waters of the slough. The bruin reared to its full height and slashed at the pack with its great paws. Teeth snapped; hair flew; squeals of pain rose above the furious barking as the angered beast occasionally found his mark. Suddenly the bear disappeared among the mob. When he stood again, he held the little yellow mongrel Jocko, Holt's favorite dog, between his forelegs.

Holt couldn't shoot without risk of hitting one of the pack. Gripping his rifle like a club, he leapt from the saddle. "Let go of my dog, bear!" he screamed, as he charged into the bayou. With a mighty swing, Holt brought the stock of the gun down on the bear's skull with such force that the wooden stock cracked and the rifle's steel frame bent. The bear dropped Jocko.

Holt's quandary had become a disaster. The bear Holt had promised lay in the mud-died waters of Coon Bayou, comatose from the blow Holt had delivered to its head with his rifle stock. Disgusted with the turn of events, Holt did his best to salvage the situation. He threw a rope over the unconscious animal, dragged it out of the water, and tied it to the nearest tree. Ironically, Holt's joking promise to lasso a bear for the president had proved prophetic.

The bear's condition had improved but little by the time Roosevelt and the other hunters arrived. T. R.'s mother was from Georgia, and Teddy had grown up hearing romantic tales of Southern hunts with horse and hound, and of the great bear slayers, like General Wade Hampton, who had killed over 80 bears with a knife alone in the swamps and thickets of Mississippi. Part of the purpose of his trip to the Delta had been to experience the glory of those bygone times. Expecting such an heroic scene of fang and claw,



Teddy could scarcely conceal his disappointment when he saw Holt with the addled bear. The crowd that soon gathered only made things worse. "Shoot the bear! Shoot it, Mr. President!" the other hunters began to shout.

Now the President was in a quandary. His hosts expected him to shoot the animal. Bears, in the old Delta, were not so much game as vermin to be eradicated. The animals were terribly destructive of corn fields and livestock. Communal bear hunts were as much about protecting livelihoods as they were sporting events. Outside the South, though, there was, even then, a strong anti-hunting sentiment, and the anti-hunters dogged and harangued the president every time he took a firearm afield.

Never mind that Roosevelt had been a founder of the Boone & Crockett Club, the group that is given much credit for saving the American bison, elk, and antelope from extinction; or, that he had begun a conservation policy as president that would see the country's national park acreage doubled, the establishment of four big game refuges and 51 bird sanctuaries, the enactment of the first Alaskan game laws, the establishment of the 18,000 acre National Bison Range in Montana, the passage of the National Monuments Act, and the convening of the first national conference on conservation (he may not have respected the constitutional role of the federal government, but he was a conservationist).

Then, as now, the anti-hunters did not know who the real friends of nature were. With reporters from three major wire services in his camp, Roosevelt, no doubt, felt he couldn't take any chances.

With a tone somewhere between amusement and indignation, he refused the offered shot. "What sort of sport would that be?" he asked.

Roosevelt's sparing of the beast was reported and, in most quarters, viewed as a noble gesture. Political cartoonist Clifford Berryman popularized the event with a caricature he called "Drawing the Line in Mississippi," a reference to Roosevelt's rigid opposition to the Southern positions on the racial questions of that day. Soon everyone in America was talking about Teddy and the bear.

Enterprising toy maker Morris

Michtom, of Brooklyn, New York, in what must have been one of the shrewdest marketing schemes of all time, named his line of stuffed toys "Teddy Bears." They sold so well that Michtom expanded his business, forming the Ideal Toy Company the next year.

Holt Collier, who made it all possible, though, is scarcely remembered today. This fall, when you are enjoying the great outdoors and autumn weather, take a few minutes to remember that great bear hunter and guide, and pass his memory on to a friend.



Musings

BY TED ROBERTS

Don't Light Up My Life

My friend, Herb, says he never met a traffic light he liked. "They're just like laws. Lousy ones never get repealed." The last piece of legislation Herb respected was the Magna Carta. "The only significant law I recall being erased from the rolls was Prohibition—after millions of dry throats begged hoarsely for relief." That's what Herb says.

"Ever see a traffic signal dismantled?" asks Herb. "About the last time a Buddhist was voted president of the Southern Baptist Association, that's when!"

What's operating here is the sin of pride. Traffic engineers, like politicians, never admit a mistake. Even lovers and weathermen occasionally have to say they're sorry. But never traffic engineers. When was the last time you saw a light removed and an apology published in the paper?

Motorists, me and my staff are really sorry about the 5-minute light

we put on the corner of Peachtree and Old Rural Lane. It's a bummer. We couldn't resist the 2-for-1 special from ACME Signal Corporation We'll take it down tomorrow evening (during rush hour, naturally). There'll be free beer for all. And glass and metal fragments will be dispensed as souvenirs. Again, apologies to you patient Peachtree travelers—both of you. If anybody lived on Old Rural Lane, we'd apologize to them, too.

Once, my pal, Herb—through his girlfriend, Elvira, who worked at City Hall—got hold of the *Traffic Engineer's Handbook*. An amazing document it was. Chapter headings say it all.

Chapter 1: How to convert a rural intersection into a traffic jam with only five cars.

Chapter 2: Where to find lights that remain red in all directions for at least five minutes.

Chapter 3: How to time three lights in succession such that the motorist is guaranteed to miss two out of three and spill his coffee.

Chapter 4: The new "No Green" light and why it's so popular in the profession.

Chapter 5: Foreign nations with no U.S. extradition agreements that shelter fleeing traffic engineers.

Chapter 6: Job titles you can use so people at cocktail parties won't pour a Tequila Sunrise on your head when you tell 'em you're a traffic engineer.

And don't you hate those left turn arrows. No longer can I make the judgment that the turn is safe. Some city planner—who never goes through that intersection on the way home—and is into sky-diving and wild mushroom gathering is protecting me from myself. Just like those empathetic politicians with their seat belt laws. Even at midnight, when the neighborhood cats are using the interstate for a feline lover's lane, I must sit and wait for that brief green arrow that releases me.

But as much as I hate those left turn restrictions, my mother in her driving days,

& SIDELIGHTS & LIGHTERSIDES

Compiled by Ralph Green

loved them. She drove all kinds of crazy mazy routes around town to catch as many green arrow intersections as possible. She always arrived an hour late—from anywhere—even next door. And it didn't help that her '42 Chevrolet rarely got out of second gear. During the war years—in the 40s—I wrote a personal letter to General Eisenhower boldly suggesting that they parachute my mother and her '42 Chevy behind the German lines and thereby bottle up enemy tank traffic in the Ardennes. German counter-intelligence must have gotten wind of my plan—the Nazis surrendered a couple months later. I've always had a sneaking suspicion that traffic engineers were nice, old ladies like my mama, who couldn't get across a deserted intersection without five minutes of head turning in both directions.

To make matters worse, I can vote against the politicians who pay off campaign promises with MY paycheck, but I don't even know the name of our local traffic engineer. It could be my Aunt Susan. On my mother's side, naturally. ☺

THE FIFTH GENERAL

You may have heard of the bodies of five generals lying on the porch at Carnton after the Battle of Franklin. Information for this story of the "fifth general" was provided by Tim Burgess of White House, Tennessee.

Grandson of a captain in the Continental Cavalry, Robert Butler Young was born in 1828 in South Carolina. He graduated from the Georgia Military Academy. A major in the Georgia Militia, he commanded the 338th Battalion in 1848. Robert experienced financial problems and by 1859 had moved wife and daughter to Bosque Co., Texas. He considered joining the Texas Rangers, but he decided he would rather fight the Yankees than the Indians.

Commissioned Captain in the 6th Texas Volunteers in 1861, he reported to the 10th Texas Infantry as Major, becoming its Lt. Colonel in September, 1862. Wounded and captured with his unit in late 1862, he was very ill while in prison at Camp Chase in Ohio. When he was exchanged in 1863, he was met by his younger brother, Pierce, who never forgave the Yankees for their treatment of Robert. A Major General of cavalry under Robert E. Lee, Pierce was shocked at seeing an emaciated Robert, "a living skeleton with clothes dropped over him".

Col. Young went to his family's plantation near Cartersville, Georgia to recuperate from his wound, his illness, and the shameful treatment he had received from the Yankees. Crushed, haggard, and spiritless, he was nursed back to health by his family and rejoined his unit. By September of 1864, the 10th Texas numbered only 96 out of its original 1,050 men. During his fighting against Sherman in the bloody Atlanta Campaign, Col. Young was again wounded. General Granbury cited him for his gallantry in battle.

At the Battle of Franklin on 30 November 1864, while serving as Granbury's Chief of Staff, Col. Young was killed along with more than one hundred of

his fellow Texans. After the battle, the body of Col. Young was placed tenderly on the porch of the McGavock mansion "Carnton" along with the bodies of Generals Cleburne, Strahl, Granbury, and Adams. A Confederate flag covered each body.

This scene led to the misconception that all five generals killed outright at Franklin were laid side by side on the porch. The generals and Young and some of their staff were buried first in Rose Hill Cemetery in Columbia, Tennessee, then reburied in the Ashwood church cemetery nearby. Although the generals were later moved to their home states, Lt. Col. Robert Butler Young remains under his original grave marker.

A DOCUMENTED TRAVESTY

Dr. James I. Robertson, Jr., respected historian, succinctly analyzed the PBS "Civil War" series: "The less you know about the Civil War, the more you'll enjoy the program." Dr. Robertson said that as an historian the main problem he had with the series was not the terrible imbalance of the series, but the number of factual errors it contained. Factual errors are those whereby data is presented materially different from actual facts, not such inconsequential items as showing the body of the same man after several different battles. Dr. Robertson counted 17 factual errors in one half-hour segment; on a *pro rata* basis that adds up to hundreds of errors in a series which truly could have been a "classic".

BLACKS IN THE UNION ARMY

Blacks in the Union army were terribly mistreated. They were given white officers and paid one-half the rate of whites. They were assigned guard duty, jobs, and risks which whites didn't want or refused. Their death rate was almost unbelievable. Of the 186,000 who served in the Federal army, 68,000 died: 2,000 in battle, over 65,000 from sickness and disease, often from duties served in place of whites. ☺

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MINORITY VIEW BY WALTER WILLIAMS

Black Slavery Is Alive and Well

Black slaves are still available—just not in the United States. To make a purchase, you'd have to travel to the Sudan as Gerald Williams, Harvard University pre-med student, did in October 2000.

Slavery in the Sudan is in part a result of a 15-year war by the Muslim north against the black Christian and animist south. Arab militias, armed by the Khartoum government, raid villages, mostly those of the Dinka tribe. They shoot the men and enslave the women and children. Women and children are kept as personal property or they're taken north and auctioned off.

In Sudanese slave markets, a woman or child can be purchased for \$90. An Anti-Slavery International investigator interviewed Abuk Thuc Akwar, a 13-year-old girl who, along with 24 other children, was captured by the militia, marched north and given to a farmer. The investigator reported, "Throughout the day she worked in his sorghum fields and at night in his bed. During the march, she was raped and called a black donkey." The girl managed to escape with the help of the master's jealous wife.

Williams visited the Sudan as part of an eight-person delegation sponsored by Christian Solidarity International (CSI). CSI, as well as the Boston-based American Anti-Slavery Group (AASG), have a stop-gap mission of buying, at a cost of \$85 each, Christian African women and children whom Muslims capture and enslave. AASG's purchase emancipates them.

Williams' tales of Muslim atrocities are horrific. Six-year-old Mawien Ahir Bol failed to clean a goat pen to his master's satisfaction. The penalty: His index finger was cut off. Yak Kenyang Adieu's punishment for being too sick to tend to his master's goats was the loss of all fingers on his right hand. Williams' trip freed, through purchase, these two boys and 20 other slaves. Should you be interested in learning more about slavery, the American Anti-Slavery Group's web site is: www.anti-slavery.com.

Chattel slavery also exists in the former



French colony of Mauritania, where it was officially outlawed in 1980. The U.S. State Department estimated that as of 1994 there were

90,000 blacks living as property of Berbers. The Berbers use their slaves for labor, sex and breeding. They're also exchanged for camels, trucks, guns or money. Slave offspring become the property of the master. According to a 1990 Human Rights Watch report, routine Mauritanian slave punishments include beatings, denial of food, and prolonged exposure to the sun, with hands and feet tied together. Serious infringement of the master's rule can mean prolonged horrible tortures such as the "insect treatment"—where the slave is bound head and foot, and insects placed in his ears and other body orifices—and "burning coals," where the slave is bound and buried with hot coals placed on parts of his body.

American Anti-Slavery Group says, "Most distressing is the silence of the American media whose reports counted for so much in the battle to end apartheid in South Africa." Only recently, and thankfully so, have mainstream black organizations such as the Congressional Black Caucus and the NAACP taken a stand against chattel slavery in Mauritania and Sudan. At one time Minister Louis Farakhan simply denied that his brother Muslims could perpetrate such an injustice, but now he's quietly accepted the evidence. Jesse Jackson remains silent.

Slavery is not the only African injustice that goes practically ignored. There's the frequent outbreaks of genocide in Rwanda, Burundi, Liberia and the Congo. In fact, it's fairly safe to say that most of today's most flagrant human rights abuses occur in Africa. But unfortunately they get little attention—maybe it's because Africans instead of Europeans are the perpetrators; Europeans are held accountable to civilized standards of behavior, while Africans aren't.

Constitutional Ignorance

During the Ashcroft Senate confirmation hearings, Sen. Edward Kennedy, D-Mass., laid into President Bush's attorney general nominee John Ashcroft about his strong support for the U.S. Constitution's Second Amendment. Kennedy demanded that Ashcroft apologize to the American people.

For what did Kennedy think Ashcroft should apologize? In a speech, Ashcroft said that the reason the Framers demanded a constitutional protection for "the right of the people to keep and bear arms" was to provide a measure of protection against tyranny in government.

Kennedy demonstrated gross ignorance about the founding of our nation. To throw such an intemperate, public hissy-fit, he must have counted on—and correctly so—the ignorance of his senatorial colleagues, the news media and most Americans.

Ashcroft didn't bother to defend himself. He might have figured that Kennedy and his colleagues were uneducable, and possibly feared that producing facts would have brought on even greater ire.

Let's you and I look at the Framers' words to see whether they gave us the Second Amendment so we could go deer and duck hunting or, as Ashcroft said, to protect against tyranny in government.

Thomas Jefferson said: "No man shall ever be debarred the use of arms. The strongest reason for the people to retain the right to keep and bear arms is, as a last resort, to protect themselves against tyranny in government." Thomas Jefferson made himself even more explicit when he said: "And what country can preserve its liberties, if its rulers are not warned from time to time, that this people preserve the spirit of resistance? Let them take arms. ... The tree of liberty must be refreshed from time to time with the blood of patriots and tyrants."

Writing in the Federalist Paper No. 46, James Madison said, "The Constitution preserves the advantage of being armed which Americans possess over the people of almost every other nation ... (where) the governments are afraid to trust the people with arms." In Federalist Paper No. 28, Alexander

Hamilton said, "If the representatives of the people betray their constituents, there is no recourse left but in the exertion of that original right of self-defense which is paramount to all forms of positive government."

Richard Henry Lee said, "To preserve liberty it is essential that the whole body of the people always possess arms and be taught alike, especially when young, how to use them." Tench Coxe said: "Congress have no power to disarm the militia. Their swords, and every other terrible implement of the soldier, are the birth-right of an American. ... The unlimited power of the sword is not in the hands of either the feder-

al or state governments, but, where I trust in God it will ever remain, in the hands of the people."

Noah Webster said, "The supreme power in America cannot enforce unjust laws by the sword, because the whole body of the people are armed, and constitute a force superior to any band of regular troops." George Washington said: "Firearms stand next in importance to the Constitution itself. They are the American people's liberty, teeth, and keystone, under independence." George Mason settled the question of militia by asking and answering: "Who are the militia? They consist of the whole peo-

ple, except a few public officers."

When the history of the 20th century is finally written, one of its key features will be the wanton slaughter of more than 170 million people, not in war, but by their own government. The governments that led in this slaughter are the former USSR (65 million) and the Peoples Republic of China (35-40 million). The point to remember is that these governments were the idols of America's leftists. Part of reason for these and other tyrannical successes was because the people were first disarmed. ☛

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THE SOBRAN VIEW BY JOSEPH SOBRAN

Money and Morality

During and after the Revolutionary War, the states issued their own money: paper money with no fixed value. Inflation—which amounts to official counterfeiting—exploded, and creditors were left holding the bag.

In order to remedy this situation, the Constitution gave Congress the exclusive power to "coin" money (not "print" money) and to "regulate" its value. To "regulate" meant to "regularize," not to "manipulate." The idea was to stabilize value.

In Federalist No. 44, James Madison mourned "the pestilent effects of paper money"—also called "bills of credit"—"on the necessary confidence between man and man, on the necessary confidence in the public councils, on the industry and morals of the people, and on the character of republican government." The Framers of the Constitution understood that sound money was a profoundly moral issue. And paper money, unbacked by gold or silver whose value was beyond the reach of foxy manipulators, was bound to corrupt public life.

As the economist and constitutional



scholar Edwin Vieira Jr. points out, a "dollar" wasn't a piece of paper with a picture of a president on it. It was a firmly established quantity of silver: 371 grains (troy weight). In most respects, the United States adopted or adapted British legal traditions and political institutions; but not in the area of money. They distrusted the British pound, so they adopted the Spanish dollar, a widely accepted unit of currency. Old-timers may recall the expression "sound as a dollar."

As Vieira says, Congress could no more change the value of a dollar than it could change the length of a week. By anchoring the United States to the dollar, the Constitution assured all Americans that their money would be safe from government machinations. Without this assurance, the Constitution might have been rejected. (The market value of gold and silver could fluctuate slightly, but not enough to create the chaos of government-induced inflation.)

In order to pay for the hideously

expensive War Between the States, the Union issued "greenbacks"—paper money whose value depreciated—and made them obligatory as "legal tender." The Confederacy also financed the war with funny money. These measures were widely recognized as tyrannical impositions that systematically robbed the public; the U.S.

Supreme Court later ruled that legal tender laws were unconstitutional. Chief Justice Salmon Chase, who wrote the majority opinion, had been Lincoln's secretary of the treasury when the laws were enacted and enforced, so his view carried special weight, not to mention irony.

But in the twentieth century paper money made a roaring comeback. Congress abdicated its constitutional duty by assigning the authority to print paper money to the Federal Reserve Bank; in time, Federal Reserve notes became legal tender with no backing in precious metals. The Fed gained an arbitrary power over economic life that Congress itself was never supposed to have. In effect it had the authority not only to "coin" money, but to counterfeit it.

Inflation and all its consequent unpredictability, with wild swings in the "business cycle," became permanent facts of American life. Today, when the Fed talks, the economy trembles. There was no such instability when money was tied to gold and silver. The Federal Reserve System represents the rule of men rather than the rule of law.

Few of us complain, because this has come to seem the natural state of things. We still think a "dollar" is a mere piece of paper. We've forgotten that it was ever anything else, and that there was a time when

We still think a "dollar" is a mere piece of paper. We've forgotten that it was ever anything else, and that there was a time when the steady erosion of its value wasn't considered inevitable.

the steady erosion of its value wasn't considered inevitable—when the debasement of the currency with the blessing of the government was recognized as criminal.

Inflation doesn't just "happen," like lousy weather. It's the result of human choices, and those who inflict it should be held responsible. Better yet, we should return to money that can't be inflated.

Someone has quipped that "dollars to doughnuts" is far from the odds it used to be. Not far into the new millennium, we may have to speak of "doughnuts to dollars."

Lincoln With Fangs

Abraham Lincoln, who was born 192 years ago, remains the most venerated of Americans. His signal achievement is believed to be the Emancipation Proclamation, which, in the middle of the War Between the States, marked the beginning of the end of slavery in America.

Most people don't realize that Lincoln didn't want to issue the Emancipation Proclamation. He was forced to do it. His own preference was for gradual emancipation, accompanied by the government-subsidized migration of free blacks outside the United States.

Lincoln had a dual goal: to prevent the political separation of North and South, while promoting the racial separation of white and black. He saw America as a haven for people of European origin. He thought slavery was wrong, but he opposed giving free blacks equality in the white man's land: he wanted to find a separate haven for them.

If you think I overstate the case, I urge you to read *Forced Into Glory: Abraham Lincoln's White Dream*, by Lerone Bennett Jr. (Johnson Publishing, 1999). It's a bitter, scorching, 652-page assault on Lincoln's undeserved reputation as a friend and benefactor of the black man.

Bennett, a black who grew up in segregated Mississippi, follows Lincoln's career in close detail, showing the gross contrast between his splendid rhetoric of "equality" and his consistent practical record of opposing the betterment of blacks. Lincoln supported Illinois' harsh Jim Crow laws, opposed civil rights for

Lincoln's preference was for gradual emancipation, accompanied by the government-subsidized migration of free blacks outside the United States.

blacks, advocated the colonization of blacks abroad, fought and frustrated abolitionists, endorsed the Fugitive Slave Act, pandered to voters' anti-black prejudices, privately ridiculed blacks, freely used racial epithets, delayed taking steps against slavery, put consideration for slaveowners ahead of justice for slaves, and actually tried, at crucial points, to save slavery.

All these things are incontrovertible facts, amply documented. If you have any respect for Lincoln, Bennett's book is mighty unpleasant reading. What really infuriates Bennett, though, is Lincoln's hypocrisy. When forced at last by Republican radicals and wartime necessity to issue the Emancipation Proclamation, he consciously assumed the pose of the Great Emancipator, the humanitarian liberator, the benefactor of the downtrodden. In doing this, he upstaged the principled abolitionists who had consistently fought and sacrificed and taken risks for the cause he himself embraced so tardily and unwillingly. Lincoln himself, as Bennett sees it, was the originator of the Lincoln Myth.

Bennett's fury is entirely understandable and largely justified. But it leads him to excess. The tone of his book is relentlessly shrill; he repeats himself far too often (the book would have been better, and perhaps even more powerful, at half its length); and he rarely gives Lincoln credit for anything. In the end Bennett's Lincoln seems as two-dimensional as the mythic Lincoln.

Bennett is at his best when he simply sticks to the facts, which tell their own story

without the aid of diatribe. He shrewdly analyzes the way Lincoln operated as a politician, cunning and calculating while seeming guileless and principled, preserving slavery while professing to oppose it. He gives the epithet "Honest Abe" the ironic resonance of "honest Iago."

A more rounded and nuanced portrait of Lincoln may be found in Richard Current's 1958 book *The Lincoln Nobody Knows*, which also looks closely, though without Bennett's rancor, at Lincoln the political operator. But Bennett performs the service of debunking the fraudulent icon of the Great Emancipator, the champion of liberty and healer of race relations, showing it to be nearly the opposite of the truth.

Still—and it feels odd to have to say it—Lincoln wasn't all bad. The beautiful and pathetic traits that make him adored are as real as his faults, and even after reading Bennett's book twice I find much to love in him. Oddly enough, Bennett approves of some of Lincoln's worst deeds, such as his ruthless wartime measures and his violations of the Constitution and civil liberties. In fact he is annoyed by some of Lincoln's acts of mercy, especially to white Southerners. He stops accusing Lincoln of being inhumane just long enough to accuse him of being too humane.

But these are minor reservations. The dust jacket calls *Forced Into Glory* "a book that will change the way you look at yourself, Abraham Lincoln, the War Between the States, race, and American history." Yes, it will. ♦

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MAINSTREET BY WILLIAM MURCHISON

We're Going To Like Mr. Bush

For a little respite from brother Bill Clinton—assuming such a thing to be possible—let us talk for a minute about who assumed his job: George W. Bush.

It will take some time for the effects of the changeover to sink in. We have accustomed ourselves for a while now in matters presidential to think: oh, Lordy, what now? Bush will not provoke such questions. We will know where we stand with him.

Not all Americans, needless to say, will appreciate the change. Liberals won't like having a conservative around the White House. The dumb-frat-boy jokes will persist for a bit. Letterman and Leno writers may seek to make "subliminal" a household word (forgetting probably that Jimmy Carter always pronounced "nuclear" as "nuke-yuh-luhr"). The media—ever at the right hand of the Democratic left—are primed to make the Ashcroft nomination sound like a conspiracy to restore the Southern Confederacy; likewise, they will portray the Interior Secretary, Gale Norton, as eager for a toll road through Yellowstone.

We need to look past these—one may hope—passing phenomena. We may, if we try, succeed in appreciating the incontestable decency of our 43rd president: his straightforwardness and lack of guile. For many, this will prove a distinct relief. When our new president tells us something, we will be comparatively sure he himself believes it, and he hopes that we really believe it, too. Won't that be something—talking in a straightforward fashion to the American people; letting legacies take care of itself?

I didn't vote for my governor in the Texas presidential primary—when the race was over in any case. I voted for John McCain: due, as I then explained, to what struck me as the senator's top-drawer leadership qualities. Not that I disdained my governor. I thought him less likely than McCain to give us the good shaking we needed, that was all.

Well, so what? It's Bush, and that's fine: all the finer, thanks to the governing team G.



W. has put together. The Cheneys, Powells, Rices, Rumsfelds, Thompsons, O'Neills, yes, and Ashcrofts could forge one of the most constructive and sensible cabinets in decades. One thing the members do already is demonstrate, by their presence on the team, that Bush isn't in this thing for ego. If he were, he would appoint dwarves rather than giants or giants-prospective. What he wants is to get a job done.

Will his adversaries cooperate? Not without some resistance. Numerous Capitol Hill Democrats plan to consume the president for breakfast, then belch happily. It has been said, and said again, that the kind of bipartisan cooperation for which Bush was famous in Austin doesn't obtain at the Washington zoo.

Correct. But relationships count. What was often described as Bill Clinton's charm helped rescue him from many a scrape. Bush's own laid-back geniality should prove an asset—with voters even more so than congressmen. I think Americans at large are going to take to Bush. They're going to notice in his personal makeup the comparative absence of vanity: comparative in that Washington context no one walks into without some, shall we say, personal confidence.

Bush's orthodox Christian convictions, it seems to me, underlie the personal serenity we may in due course begin to notice and appreciate. Sinners, in whose company our incoming president firmly situates himself, don't preen themselves in front of mirrors—or television cameras.

How good a president will G. W. make? My own instinct is to think, pretty good, maybe, as he draws on the expert help at his beck and call—from the Lord almighty on down. He could actually be better than what Americans have a right to expect, given some recent choices we've made. Concerning these, it seems to me we should heed brother Bill's own counsel from two years ago: Time—high time—to "move on."

Spindletop and Its Lessons

First, mud spilled over the table of the rotary drilling rig. Then, while the crew members' jaws dropped, six tons of four-inch pipe volleyed high into the air, making havoc of the derrick. Next came rocks, then gas; and at last, a great, unstoppable plume of dark green crude oil, nearly 200 feet high. Within a couple of days, a lake nearly nine million gallons in size surrounded the site. No bigger oil well had the world ever seen—"a sight too grand for intelligent description," wrote one enraptured correspondent.

It was a century ago—January 10, 1901, on a low circular ridge three miles southeast of Beaumont, Texas. The extraordinary, the endlessly spectacular discovery of Spindletop (named for a nearby cluster of trees) continues to teach those amenable to instruction.

The lesson is: You never know. Because, indeed, in matters technological, in matters commercial, you never do.

Where Capt. Anthony Lucas and his drilling crew found oil there was not supposed to be any. Big oil strikes took place in Ohio and California. Everyone knew that. The self-educated dreamer who had envisioned oil at Spindletop—Pattillo Higgins—was obsessed, if not crazy. Everyone knew that.

Something else everyone knew was

Spindletop teaches about life as it works: large, messy life but more free.

that John D. Rockefeller's Standard Oil Co.—the Octopus—controlled the oil industry. Production, refineries, pipelines, wholesale outlets—Standard had them all, together with 85 percent of the U.S. fuel oil and gasoline market. It called the tune to which America gamely danced.

So what happened at Spindletop? Three things essentially.

Oil that wasn't there burst onto the scene in an impossible quantity—oil not just from the so-called "Lucas gusher," but from the hundreds of wells drilled in the new field—and hundreds more drilled in newly

discovered fields nearby, such as Humble and Batson.

That was the first thing. The second was that Spindletop dislodged the Octopus' supposedly permanent grip on the U.S. oil industry. An unregimented regiment of small production companies sold their output to whoever wanted it. New pipeline companies arose to desire and transport it. In the face of such circumstances, the almighty Rockefellers could do nothing.

The third thing that happened was the birth of the fuel-oil age. What was to be done with so much oil, unfit as it was for illumination? Aha! Propel trains and steamships with it. Beaumonters had driven out in buggies to watch the gusher gush. The gusher's output soon put their horses out to pasture. The automobile, with its internal combustion engine, became omnipresent.

You never know. And because you never know, you must be careful. What

seems impossible can happen. The priority becomes, not blocking it but employing its possibilities with intelligence and—for us conservatives—piety. A tall order, to be sure, but easily more realistic than seeking through court orders, and executive regulation to choke off innovation, and to strangle growth.

Now could he—you ask sweetly—be talking about the Microsoft judgment and like phenomena? He surely could be. The Microsoft judgment posits a Standard Oil-like power on the part of Microsoft to throttle competition and have its own way with the marketplace. But so they once said of Standard. Indeed, just 10 years after Spindletop, the U. S. Supreme Court carried that logic to perfection by ordering the Octopus chopped up and parceled out.

The bias against bigness persists. It must be engrained in human nature. What we need to recall, based on the history of the U.S. oil industry, is that when one individ-

ual or firm stands too ponderously in the way, someone will find a way around. That is how humans are constituted. And it just may be a good thing—the complaints and pleas of us Victorians notwithstanding.

I mean, the train is a superior means of conveyance, both as to style and general efficiency. But what if, at the dawning of the fuel-oil age, someone seized with that conviction had sought to block development of the internal combustion engine. How long do you suppose it would have been before that personage was spied lying helplessly in the dust, as the march of progress went noisily forward?

Spindletop teaches about life as it works: large, messy life but more free, and more hopeful than any led under the brooding presence of the meddlers who always seem to know what's best for us. Bless 'em, they may mean well; they just don't know what they are up against. ☸

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SOUTHLINE BY CHARLEY REESE

The Senate Must Quash War Crimes Court

President Clinton signed a treaty that will create a permanent war crimes court. To be fair, he signed it because of a deadline, after which no-signing countries would have no input into structuring the court. The treaty still has to be ratified.

That said, the Senate should kill the treaty forthwith, as Sen. Jesse Helms, R-N.C., has said he wants to do. Helms is right and deserves the support of the American people.

Any international war crimes court is illegitimate on its face. It is a kangaroo court in which the victors in conflict seek vengeance on the losers. Such courts are also a direct assault on the concept of national sovereignty. They politicize justice as well. They are patterned on the Soviet Union model in which courts function to enforce government policy, not to dispense justice.

For example, Slobodan Milosevic, as president of Yugoslavia, tried to pre-



vent the components of the Yugoslavian Federation from seceding. In that, where is he any different than Abe Lincoln? Milosevic used force. So did

Lincoln. The difference is that Lincoln won and Milosevic lost.

I don't think even Confederate soldiers would have stood still for a bunch of Europeans saying they wanted to seize Lincoln, haul him off to a foreign country and try him as a war criminal. Billy Yank and Johnny Reb would have come together instantly and said to the Europeans: "Look here, pal. What we do in our own country to each other is our business, not yours. Butt out."

I don't blame the current president of Yugoslavia one bit for refusing to hand Milosevic over to the United Nations' kangaroo court. Milosevic is answerable to the people of his own country, not to the people of the United

States or France or Great Britain.

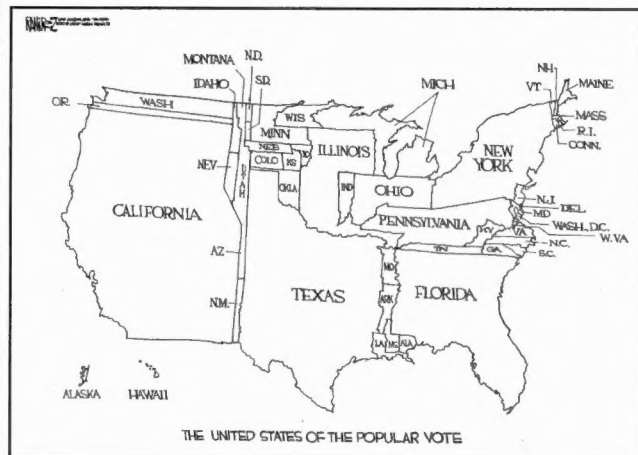
If this monstrosity is created, there will be chaos. Leaders of all sorts of countries will be charged with war crimes because, in fact, leaders of most any country that's fought a war are guilty of them. War itself, as Ernie Hemingway truthfully observed, is a crime against humanity. And once you politicize the law, then you've ended the rule of law and gotten into the realm of politics and propaganda.

Look what happened to Gen. Augusto Pinochet. While on a visit to Great Britain, he was arrested on the basis of a warrant issued by a leftist Spanish magistrate. What crimes, if any, Pinochet committed, he committed in Chile, and that is the only country that should hold him accountable. In this case, I have to say Chileans ought to build a monument to him because the general saved Chile from a communist coup and economic collapse. Killing communists trying to seize power is a crime only in the eyes of other communists and their leftist dupes.

Those in favor of this court hope to be able to tinker with the details in order to exclude Americans from its jurisdiction. That would be wrong and would just provide one more example to the world of

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Vote Stealing



By the time this issue of the *Partisan* is in the mail, most of you will be sick of election talk. I sympathize. The process was interminable and the commentary redundant. However, the events of last November contain lessons that the networks, wire services, and newspapers have missed.

Here are three:

1. Contrary to the opinion of most commentators, the networks' early call of Florida didn't help Gore. It helped Bush.

Anyone who understands the electoral process, knows that Democrats routinely steal votes. They've been doing it in large cities for at least 100 years, and no one can say how many elections they've subverted. Many people believe that had Nixon received an honest count in 1960, he, rather than Kennedy, would have been president.

Of course, Democrats don't bother to steal votes when they know they're going to win—and that's precisely what happened in Florida. Even before the polls had closed in the state's western counties, all three networks had given Gore the state's electoral votes. At that moment, you can be certain that Democratic theftmeisters took off their shoes and started popping beers—confident their night's work was over.

After most of the big-city votes had been counted and precinct workers were bleary-eyed and belching, the networks—Indian-givers all—took back Florida, say-

ing it was too close to call. Then they gave it to Bush. Then they snatched it away from him and again said it was too close to call.

At this point, the theftmeisters must have been half-crazed with anger. In most cases, they'd already reported their results. How could the networks have betrayed them into believing that the usual fraud was unnecessary?

In those counties where stealing was a proud tradition, they quickly set up the mechanism for a recount. However, recounts pose several problems for vote thieves.

In the first place, one of the best ways to steal elections is to pre-mark ballots and slip them in the box at the beginning of the day. You can't do that as easily during a recount.

Also, when an election is tight, Republicans tend to pay attention to what's happening. Too fastidious and cowardly to make trouble during actual voting—particularly in minority boxes—they are less reluctant to oversee a recount at county election headquarters.

And a machine count is very difficult to subvert when your enemy is looking over your shoulder. So Democratic theftmeisters knew the odds were against them during the first mandatory recount. They may have been able to steal some votes—but not enough to overcome Bush's lead. That's why they demanded a hand count of those counties where they were thoroughly in charge of the election machinery. You can do all sorts of creative things with your hands.

However, the fact that they had to steal so late in the game—and under such careful scrutiny—made their task all but impossible. The networks were clearly to blame for lulling them into a false sense of security. So it's the Democrats rather than the Republicans who should be angry with the Messrs. Brokaw, Jennings, and Rather—

who were, after all, only trying to help.

2. Here is a rule of thumb to use in gauging the amount of voter theft in any given election—and where it is most likely to occur.

Years ago, our family moved from a marginal neighborhood to a more affluent section of the city. When we went to the grocery store the first time, we were astonished to find that prices were much lower in the new neighborhood than in the old one.

I mentioned this puzzling fact to a friend in the retail business.

"Sure, prices are lower in your neighborhood," he said. "There's not as much shrinkage."

Since I knew little about business, he had to explain to me that "shrinkage" is a euphemism for "theft" and that every retailer has to project theft loss when pricing his merchandise.

"In areas where few people steal," my friend explained, "you can price your goods at a lower figure. In those areas where theft is rampant, you have to establish high prices."

After reviewing the pattern of voter fraud in the U.S., I've devised a method to determine where it will occur: Check neighborhood grocery prices. If prices are high, then you've identified a precinct where votes, as well as apples, are likely to be swiped. If neighborhood grocery prices are low, chances are no one will be stealing votes. Thieves, after all, are thieves.

3. American voters are now completely irrational, largely as a result of the Clinton era.

In 1992, I asked a friend of my daughter if she had a favorite in the presidential campaign. She said she was voting for Clinton. Knowing that she was religious and conservative, I asked her, "Why in heaven's name are you voting for him?"

"Because," she said, "he's a hunk."

I have the distinct feeling that literally millions of women voted for Clinton because they thought he was a hunk. That's why Al Gore gave Tipper that open-mouth kiss on television, and why he had his masculinity enhanced for a last-minute magazine photo.

And here's another example of voter madness. Missourians favored John Ashcroft over Mel Carnahan prior to

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War Crimes Court

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what hypocrites we are. It is better to oppose it on principle. If it is to be created, there can be no just reason to exclude Americans.

National sovereignty, which means Americans are answerable to no one but their own government and their own laws, should never be compromised. The creation of a permanent international war-crimes tribunal would certainly compromise the national sovereignty of every country on earth. That is the primary reason to block its formation.

Americans should always remember that the United Nations is an undemocratic organization. Not one delegate is elected. There is no public input into its deliberations.

The Root of the Argument

For all the hoopla one hears today about the Confederate flag, the truth is that the issue which divides most Americans, is exactly the same one that once split the country.

No, it isn't slavery, race, homosexuality, abortion or any of the other current topics.

It's simply this: Where should the power reside—with us and, through us, our elected officials at the city, county and state levels, or should it reside in Washington?

No kidding, that's what the real argument was about back then and right now. Are we a national government, or are we a federation of sovereign states?

The Constitution, of course, created a federation of sovereign states. These states temporarily delegated a few of their powers to the federal government for the specific

purposes outlined in the Constitution—mainly to provide a common currency, a common standard of measurements, a common defense and a common foreign and trade policy.

What held the union of states together was a common agreement that all would be bound by the Constitution. The states would not do what the Constitution forbids them from doing, and neither would the federal government. Each and every government would live within the boundaries clearly set out by the Constitution.

This type of government, however, is incompatible with nationalism, and nationalists soon began to chafe at the restraints imposed by the Constitution. It is especially incompatible with socialism, and after the failed 1848 revolutions in Europe, socialists and communists fled to the United States by the thousands. Thus, then as now, immigration began to have its effect on American culture and politics.

Well, the nationalists won the first round, and since 1865, Americans have embraced a gradually more and more expansive federal role accompanied, as it must be, by a concurrent loss of local and state control. Today, especially if you are a couch potato addicted to television, you might well conclude that there exists only New York, Washington and Los Angeles, with a sort of indeterminate mass in between.

And some folks—the nationalists and the socialists—are quite content, though they think that there is still much to do to shape the American people into the mold they think the people should fit. Big business was, of course, one of the first to embrace centralism, since the robber barons recognized that it was cheaper to bribe only one set of politicians than to have to do so in each of the separate states. It is always a mistake for political traditionalists to assume that business is an ally. Big business loves big government.

Still, other folks have become discontent and have begun to wonder if the idea that Washington knows best is, after all, a false idea. More and more people are beginning to think that it might be better, after all, to govern themselves through their local and state officials, rather than rely on the wisdom of a distant central government besieged by special interests and lawyers.

So how about that Jeff Davis! He said that a question settled by force and violence

remains forever unsettled and will arise again. And so it has.

The more Americans examine their beliefs and ask themselves why they call themselves conservative or liberal, libertarian or socialist, the more they will see that it boils down to how much power the government should have and how that power should be distributed.

That's exactly the question Americans began with in 1776. ☛

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Vote Stealing

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Carnahan's fatal plane crash. After Carnahan was killed, they turned around and elected him to the U.S. Senate.

Ashcroft called it "compassion." There are better words to describe such mindless sentimentality.

Next time, the Democrats may run Franklin Roosevelt for president. After Roosevelt wins, his electors can then vote for the live candidate of their choice—a candidate who, like Mrs. Carnahan, wouldn't have had a chance otherwise.

And yet one more example. New Yorkers elected Hillary Clinton to the Senate, despite the fact that she had never lived in the state. In addition, she was a proven liar and had apparently engaged in dishonest acts, both in Arkansas and in Washington. None of these things seemed to matter. She was a certified celebrity—notorious rather than merely famous. You have the impression that if Madonna had run instead, she would likewise have been elected—not *in spite* of the scandal attached to her name but *because* of it. Yet, Hillary won much of upstate New York as well as the Big Apple—which means that a bunch of Republicans were also blinded by the glitz and glitter.

These bizarre patterns may signal the end of our sanity as a people, and hence our ability to govern ourselves. Part of the problem lies with the Republican Party, whose leaders lack the principle and bloodlust to fight winning battles. But mainly the fault lies with the American people, who no longer have the ability to make basic distinctions. In such a climate, it is small wonder that we vote for the candidate who is the sexiest or the most notorious—or the deadest. ☛



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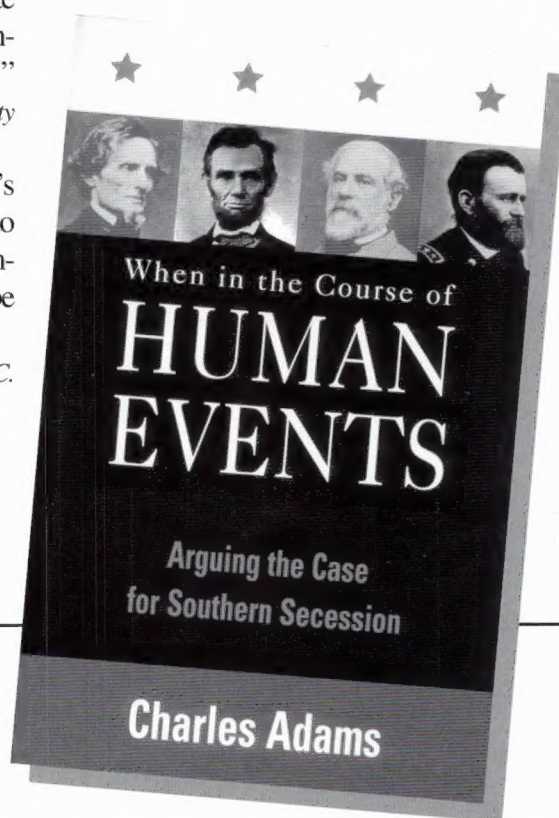
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